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Art. I.—AN AMERICAN VIEW OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.*

At this period, then, 1842, it may be considered, that the gradual extinction and absorption of Turkey was a leading idea of European diplomacy. We are not discussing, and do not intend to discuss, the moral value of such a principle. We are simply reviewing the facts of the diplomatic history of that day. France had Algiers; English influence was dominant in Syria and Egypt; Greece was a constant protest against Turkish rule over Christian subjects; and the Slave provinces of Turkey were open to and prepared for Russian interference. Turkey herself was prostrate, after more than ten years of constant warfare, and as constant defeat. In this condition of affairs, with a principle so obvious, and a policy so tempting, the Czar thought it wisest to prepare for the future—to avoid, if possible, the disturbance of Europe, by any sudden and rude collision in the East, of interests which had by this time taken almost a traditional character. As his late experience had proved that Russia and England could control the Eastern question, to England he applied for counsel. And here we reach at last the famous memorandum of 1844. In analyzing this memorandum, and the correspondence on the questions arising in 1852 and '53, we certainly shall not follow the order of their publication, but their actual chronology. For Part V. of the Parliamentary documents is really Part I. of the correspondence, and the English cabinet and press have derived no little advantage in their argument by this temporary suppression of the earlier papers.

In 1844, soon after the termination of the Egyptian and Syrian difficulties, while the perplexities of that question were fresh in the memories of the Powers of Europe, the Czar visited England. During that visit, he had full and frank explanations with the

* Concluded from September No.

ministry, as to the probable future of Turkey, and the proper policy, in that regard, of the two Powers. The result of these conferences was summed up in a memorandum, and this memorandum, the Earl of Aberdeen stated in his speech of March 31, was sanctioned and approved by himself, the Duke of Wellington, and Sir Robert Peel. The memorandum recites the anxiety of both powers for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, states the difficulties which are most probable in the internal administration of Turkey, recommends a conciliatory but firm course of conduct on the part of the European powers, which would keep Turkey true to all her engagements, and then proceeds in the following distinct language :

"However, they must not conceal from themselves how many elements of dissolution that Empire contains within itself. Unforeseen circumstances may hasten its fall without its being in the power of the friendly cabinets to prevent it. As it is not given to human foresight to settle beforehand a plan of action for such or such unlooked-for case, it would be premature to discuss eventualities which may never be realized.

"In the uncertainty which hangs over the future, a single fundamental idea seems to admit of a really practical application : it is, that the danger which may result from a catastrophe in Turkey will be much diminished, if, in the event of its occurring, Russia and England have come to an understanding as to the course to be taken by them in common. That understanding will be the more beneficial, inasmuch as it will have the full assent of Austria. Between her and Russia there exists already an entire conformity of principles in regard to the affairs of Turkey, in a common interest of conservatism and of peace.

"In order to render their union more efficacious, there would remain nothing to be desired, but that England should be seen to associate herself thereto with the same view. The reason which recommends the establishment of this agreement is very simple.

"On land, Russia exercises in regard to Turkey a preponderant action.

"On sea, England occupies the same position. Isolated, the action of these two powers might do much mischief. United, it can produce a real benefit ; and hence the advantage of coming to a previous understanding, before having recourse to action. This motion was in principle agreed upon during the Emperor's last residence in London. The result was the eventual engagement, that if anything unforeseen occurred in Turkey, Russia and England should previously concert together as to the course which they should pursue in common. The object for which Russia and England will have to come to an understanding, may be expressed in the following manner :

"1. To seek to maintain the existence of the Ottoman Empire in its present state, so long as that political combination shall be possible.

"2. If we foresee that it must crumble to pieces, to enter into previous concert as to everything relating to the establishment of a new order of things, intended to replace that which now exists; and in conjunction with each other, to see that the change which may have occurred in the internal situation of the Empire, shall not injudiciously affect either the security of their own States, and the rights which the treaties assure to them respectively, or the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe.

"For the purpose thus stated, the policy of Russia and of Austria, as we have already said, is closely united by the principle of perfect identity. If England, as the principal maritime power, acts in concert with them, it is to be supposed that France will find herself obliged to act in conformity with the course agreed upon between St. Petersburg, London, and Vienna.

"Conflict between the great powers being thus obviated, it is to be hoped that the peace of Europe will be maintained even in the midst of such serious circumstances. It is to secure this object of common interest if the case occurs: that as the Emperor agreed with her Britannic Majesty's ministers during his residence in England, the previous understanding which Russia and England shall establish between themselves, must be directed."

—*Blue Books*, Part VI., pp. 3, 4.

We honestly think, that in view of the past, the Earl of Aberdeen was warranted in saying, that supposing the Emperor right in his apprehension of the dissolution of Turkey, he saw "but that which is wise and moderate, and judicious in the memorandum." And when, in 1852, the difficulties arose concerning the Holy Places, the Czar, in perfect faith with this agreement, directly approached the British Government, and united the joint consultation thus provided for ten years before. And it must be recollected, at the outset of this examination, that Russia did not provoke this crisis. For Lord John Russell, on 28th January, 1853, and after he had received the first secret dispatch from Sir Hamilton Seymour, detailing the commencement of the Emperor's confidential conversations, which reached him on the 23d of the same month, says to Lord Cowley, the British Minister in Paris—"In the first place, her Majesty's desire is, to abstain altogether from giving any opinion on the merits of the question. Treaties, conventions, and firmans, are quoted with equal confidence on both sides. But Her Majesty's Government cannot avoid perceiving that the Ambassador of France at Constantinople was the first to disturb the *status quo* in which the matter rested. Not that the disputes of the Latin

and Greek Churches were not very active, but that without some political action on the part of France, those quarrels would never have troubled the relations of the friendly powers.

"In the next place, if report is to be believed, the French ambassador was the first to speak of having recourse to force, and to threaten the intervention of a French fleet to enforce the demands of his country."—*Blue Books*, Part I., p. 67.

It is impossible, of course, to enter at large into the technical perplexities of such questions, as to whether the key of the Church at Bethlehem should be intrusted to the Latin Bishop, or to the Greek Patriarch. But this much is clear to all, that as Turkey holds her place in the political world only by the mutual sufferance of the European powers, the practical question with them is, as to the balance of their respective influence with the Sublime Porte; and as the influences of Russia and France are represented through the privileges of the Greeks and Latins, of whom they are the representatives, questions of apparent insignificance assume importance, as indicating the real power of these several courts. Now, it appears that in 1852, the French Government was not satisfied with the *status quo* of these two parties, and made certain demands in favor of the Latins upon the Porte. Russia considered these demands as inadmissible. The Porte, fearful of offending either, hesitated and prevaricated with both. France and Russia both grew angry. France threatened force, and Russia prepared to use it. The Czar, believing that he saw danger of a rupture, the consequences of which might extend farther than the abstract value of the questions indicated, thought that the case provided for in the memorandum had occurred, and through Sir Hamilton Seymour opened the consultation to which England and himself were pledged. The first secret dispatch of Sir Hamilton Seymour is dated 11th January, 1853, and the question of the Holy Places assumed its very grave character towards the close of 1852, at which time Russia had evidently begun to make preparations for hostilities. Upon the appreciation of these confidential disclosures will depend the character of Russia's conduct; for her intentions, as manifested in them, will give color to her after proceedings. They require, therefore, a careful analysis. These conversations were of course opened by the Czar, and on his part were directed to three points. First—the expression of his strong desire, that in any future policy towards Turkey, himself and the English Government should be in perfect accord. Second—the declaration of his belief that the condition of the Turkish Empire was such, that at any moment, a revolution of the Christians, or a complicated dispute between any of the leading powers of Europe on a Turkish question, would lead to sudden collapse of the Ottoman Empire. And third—an invitation to the English Government to discuss fully

and frankly the consequences of such an occurrence, in order to come to some general principles which should regulate their action. And referring to one point of special importance, he said: "Frankly, then, I tell you plainly, that if England thinks of establishing herself one of these days at Constantinople, I will not allow it. I do not attribute this intention to you, but it is better on these occasions to speak plainly; for my part, I am equally disposed to take the engagement, not to establish myself there, as proprietor, that is to say; for as occupier, I do not say; *it might happen that circumstances, if no previous provision were made, if everything should be left to chance, might place me in the position of occupying Constantinople.*"*

Sir Hamilton Seymour sums up the value of these conversations fairly, when he says:

"With regard to the extremely important overture to which this report relates, I will only observe, that as it is my duty to record impressions, as well as facts and statements, I am bound to say, that if words, tone, and manner offer any criterion by which intentions are to be judged, the Emperor is prepared to act with perfect fairness and openness towards Her Majesty's Government. His Majesty has, no doubt, his own objects in view; and he is, in my opinion, too strong a believer in the imminence of dangers in Turkey. I am, however, impressed with the belief, that in carrying out those objects, and in guarding against those dangers, His Majesty is sincerely desirous of acting in harmony with Her Majesty's Government. I would now submit to your lordship, that this overture cannot with propriety pass unnoticed by Her Majesty's Government. It has been on a first occasion glanced at, and on a second, distinctly made by the Emperor himself to the Queen's minister at his court, whilst the conversation held some years ago with the Duke of Wellington proves that the object in view is one which has long occupied the thoughts of his Imperial Majesty. If, then, the proposal were to remain unanswered, a decided advantage would be secured to the Imperial Cabinet, which, in the event of some great catastrophe taking place in Turkey, would be able to point to proposals made to England, and which not having been responded to, *left the Emperor at liberty, or placed him under the necessity, of following his own line of policy in the East.*

"Again I would remark, that the anxiety expressed by the Emperor, even looking to his own interests for an extension of the days 'of the dying man,' appears to me to justify Her Majesty's Government in proposing to His Imperial Majesty to unite with England in the adoption of such measures as may lead to prop up the failing authority of the Sultan. Lastly, I would observe,

* *Blue Books*, Part VI., p. 4.

that even if the Emperor should be found disinclined to lend himself to such a course of policy as might arrest the downfall of Turkey, his declarations to me pledge him to be ready to take beforehand, in concert with Her Majesty's Government, such precautions as may possibly prevent the fatal crisis being followed by a scramble for the rich inheritance which would remain to be disposed of.

"A noble triumph would be obtained by the civilization of the nineteenth century, if the void left by the extinction of Mahomedan rule in Europe could be filled up, without an interruption of the general peace, in consequence of the precautions adopted by the two principal Governments, the most interested in the destinies of Turkey."*

To this dispatch, Lord John Russell replied on the 9th February, 1853. He was "happy to acknowledge the moderation, the frankness, and the friendly disposition of His Imperial Majesty;" and repeats distinctly and fairly the point of the Imperial communication. "The question raised by His Imperial Majesty is a very serious one. It is supposing the contingency of the dissolution of the Turkish Empire to be probable, or even imminent; whether it is not better to be provided beforehand for a contingency, than to incur the chaos, confusion, and the certainty of an European war; all of which must attend the catastrophe, if it should occur unexpectedly and before some ulterior system has been sketched." And this "ulterior system" he declines to join in sketching, for the reasons he gives, viz.: 1. Because "no actual crisis has occurred, which renders necessary a solution of this vast European problem." 2. The impossibility of making any arrangement without the participation of the other leading European powers. 3. Because any such arrangement would only hasten the catastrophe it was intended to avoid. And he concludes by stating "that no course of policy can be adopted more wise, more disinterested, more beneficial to Europe, than that which His Imperial Majesty has so long followed, and which will render his name more illustrious than that of the most famous Sovereigns, who have sought immortality by unprovoked conquest and ephemeral glory." After this dispatch, the conversations were still conducted through Sir Hamilton Seymour, and the Czar opened himself more fully. "I will not," said he, "tolerate the permanent occupation of Constantinople by the Russians: having said this, I will say, that it never shall be held by the English or French, or any other great nation. Again—I never will permit an attempt at the reconstruction of a Byzantine Empire, or such an extension of Greece as would render her a powerful State—still less would I permit the breaking up of

* *Blue Books*, Part VI., pp. 5, 6.

Turkey into little republics ; asylums for the Kossuths and Mazzinis, and other revolutionists of Europe ; rather than submit to any of these arrangements, I would go to war, and, as long as I have a man and a musket left, would carry it on." * * *

"The Emperor went on to say, that in the event of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, he thought it might be less difficult to arrive at a satisfactory territorial arrangement than was commonly believed. The Principalities are, he said, in fact an independent State under my protection—this might so continue. Servia might receive the same form of Government. So again with Bulgaria—there seems to be no reason why this province should not form an independent State. As to Egypt—I quite understand the importance to England of that territory. I can then only say, that if in the event of a distribution of the Ottoman succession upon the fall of the Empire, you should take possession of Egypt, I shall have no objections to offer. I would say the same thing of Candia—that island might suit you ; and I do not know why it should not become an English possession. As I did not wish that the Emperor should imagine that an English public servant was caught by this sort of overture, I simply answered that I had always understood that the English views upon Egypt did not go beyond the point of securing a safe and ready communication between British India and the mother country." In fact, the summing of this whole very remarkable series of conversations may be accurately stated on the part of Russia, in the language of the memorandum furnished Sir Hamilton Seymour by Count Nesselrode, February 12, 1853 ; and, on the part of England, in the language of the dispatch of Lord Clarendon to the same ambassador on March 23, 1853.

The memorandum concludes : "In short, the Emperor cannot but congratulate himself at having given occasion for this intimate interchange of confidential communications between Her Majesty and himself. He has found therein valuable assurances, of which he takes note with lively satisfaction. The two Sovereigns have frankly explained to each other what, in the extreme case of which they have been treating of their respective interests, cannot endure. England understands that Russia cannot suffer the establishment at Constantinople of a Christian power sufficiently strong to control and disquiet her. She declares that for herself, she renounces any intention or desire to possess Constantinople. The Emperor equally disclaims any wish or design of establishing himself there. England promises that she will enter into no arrangements for determining the measures to be taken, in the event of the fall of the Turkish Empire, without a previous understanding with the Emperor. The Emperor on his side willingly contracts the same engagement ; as he is aware that, in such a case, he can equally reckon upon

Austria, who is bound by her promises to concert with him; he regards with less apprehension the catastrophe which he still desires to prevent and avert, as much as it shall depend on him to do so."

Lord Clarendon's dispatch says:—"Her Majesty's Government have accordingly learnt with sincere satisfaction, that the Emperor considers himself even more interested than England in preventing a Turkish catastrophe; because they are persuaded, that on the conduct of his Imperial Majesty towards Turkey will mainly depend the hastening or indefinite postponement of an event which every power in Europe is concerned in averting. Her Majesty's Government are convinced that nothing is more calculated to precipitate that event, than the constant prediction of its being near at hand; that nothing can be more fatal to the vitality of Turkey, than the assumption of its rapid and inevitable decay; and that if the opinion of the Emperor, that the days of the Turkish Empire were numbered, became notorious, its downfall must occur even sooner than his Imperial Majesty appears now to expect.

"But on the supposition, that from unavoidable causes the catastrophe did take place, her Majesty's Government entirely share the opinion of the Emperor, that the occupation of Constantinople by either of the great powers would be incompatible with the present balance of power and the maintenance of peace in Europe, and must at once be regarded as impossible; that there are no elements for the reconstruction of a Byzantine Empire; that the systematic misgovernment of Greece offers no encouragement to extend its territorial dominion; and that as there are no materials for provincial or communal government, anarchy would be the result of leaving the provinces of Turkey to themselves, or permitting them to form separate republics." The dispatch considers "that the simple predetermination of what shall not be tolerated, does little towards solving the real difficulties, or settling in what manner it would be practicable, or even desirable, to deal with the heterogeneous materials of which the Turkish Empire is composed;" and his Lordship declares that "England desires no territorial aggrandizement, and could be no party to a previous arrangement from which she was to derive any such benefit. England could be no party to any understanding, however general, that was to be kept secret from other powers." At the close, then, of these conversations, that is, about the time of Prince Menschikoff's mission, the history of Europe since 1815, and the diplomatic papers exchanged between Russia and England, had established three facts. 1. That since the Congress of Vienna, a steady and gradual dismemberment of the Turkish Empire had been effected by the joint action of the great powers. 2. That Russia and

England distinctly recognizes as one of the probable eventualities of European politics the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, and pledged themselves to a joint consultation, with a view to joint action in such an emergency. 3. That the English Ministry (see the dispatch of Lord John Russell already quoted) acknowledged the existence of a critical and complicated state of affairs in Turkey, threatening the mutual relations of the great powers, and brought on by the rash action of the French Government. And it must also be borne in mind that Lord Clarendon had expressly stated, that "if the opinion of the Emperor, that the days of the Turkish Empire were numbered, became notorious, its downfall must occur even sooner than his Imperial Majesty appears now to expect." Now, this opinion the Czar did hold and did express; so that, according to the principles laid down by the British Government itself, the contemplated crisis was at hand. The justice of Russia's position at this moment depends upon two questions. 1. Whether Russia had in good faith carried out the agreement contained in the memorandum of 1844, by which she bound herself to consult with England in case of certain eventualities. 2. And whether the principles upon which she proposed an agreement were fair and honest. The first question had already been answered in the dispatch of Sir Hamilton Seymour first quoted, from the highest authority, and in the most unequivocal manner. To the second, then, let us address ourselves. It has been urged that the dishonesty of these overtures is evident from the deliberate exclusion of the other great powers. England herself furnishes a complete reply to this charge, both in words and deeds. For in 1841, in arranging the Eastern question of that day, she acted heartily with Russia, not in excluding France from informal deliberations, but in fraudulently shutting France out from participation in a treaty, to the preliminary steps of which France had been a constant and deeply interested party; and this she did under the influence of Russian diplomacy, and very nearly at the expense of the peace of Europe. And in the memorandum of 1844, approved, it must be remembered, by Wellington, Peel and Aberdeen, she entered into a distinct agreement with Russia, on the ground that Russia and herself were all-powerful in the East, to discuss their future policy together, and has put upon that record the emphatic declaration—"If England, as the principal maritime power, acts in concert with them (i. e., Russia and Austria), it is to be supposed that France will find herself obliged to act in conformity with the course agreed upon between St. Petersburg, London, and Vienna." We need scarcely say, that at that time Vienna and St. Petersburg were so identical, that the former might have been stricken out of the sentence without weakening its force; and that Prussia was not even re-

ferred to by either of the contracting parties. If France, then, was excluded from the discussion, the memorandum of 1844 had worked the exclusion.

It is next declared that the proposals of the Czar amount to an iniquitous proposition to partition the territory of an independent and allied power in a time of profound peace, and without sufficient provocation. Now we might well remark, that this moral sensibility would have exerted a better influence if a little sooner manifested; and that after the independence of Greece, Egypt, and the provinces, its sudden exhibition may be the miraculous cure of a moral paralysis that seemed almost hopeless with the great powers; but it may also be the hypocritical indignation of a very selfish virtue. But the truth is, Turkey is *not* an independent power, and is only so far an allied one, that the great powers, in their own interest, have combined to preserve it, until they can agree upon the distribution of its territory. The Turks have no part in Europe; they share neither its civilization, its interests, nor its policy; and if we are to look for the criminal selfishness of European politics, it will be found in the miserable cant of "the integrity of the Ottoman Empire." The great powers of Europe have stood like an armed police on the borders of this country, to prevent the natural and necessary development of its Christian population; and they have combined in fear, not of Turkey, but of an independent Christian power which should reassume the Byzantine diadem. Russia and England both agree in this, with, however, this material difference. Russia is willing to create a set of independent provinces under her protectorate. England prefers the preservation of Turkish rule over the same provinces. The history of Europe, and the diplomatic language of each of the great powers, prove that the *final* extinction of Turkish rule is considered one of the established facts of European policy; and even now, while France and England take arms to defend the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, they call for concessions which amount almost to a national conversion, which must end in revolution, and either leave Turks, Greeks, Armenians and Latins to tear each other to pieces, with all the fervor of religious zeal, and the intensity of civil hatred, or call the allied powers in to measure out the territory, and readjust the authority of an Empire without subjects, and a people without a country; for we are told, on high authority, that even now the highest ambition of a Christian rajah is to become the subject of a foreign power. To talk about Turkey as an independent power, having a recognized place in the European system like Austria or Prussia, or even like Belgium or Switzerland, is to use language contradicted by every fact of European history, and every sentence in the Eastern dispatches of European diplomacy. The extinction

of Turkey as the land of Ottoman rule, is simply a matter of time. Russia and England, France, Austria and Prussia, have long since resolved upon its consummation. And England, even that England who, in the language of Lord Clarendon, "desires no territorial aggrandizement, and could be no party to a previous arrangement from which she was to derive any such benefit," will not come out of this war victorious, as she has never come out of any other, without "dividing the prey." And we honestly believe that both she and they are right; that no principle of justice, no interest of civilization, calls for the preservation of Turkey. The Turks came with the sword, let them go by the sword; wherever they spread, cruelty camped under their tents, and desolation was the shadow of their banners. In the annals of their barren and bloody history, we can find nothing that they have preserved—nothing that they have achieved. Ferocious in their strength, and false in their weakness, tyranny and treachery make the antithesis of their chronicles. Like the repulsive creations of their own fiction, the vampire and the ghoul, they have sucked the substance of the fairest portions of the world to prolong a monstrous and abhorred life, and feasted among the tombs of ancient and renowned nations. And when they shall have been expelled from the soil they desolate, and from among the people they oppress, history will only have recorded another example of God's retributive justice. It is, however, when that destruction shall be accomplished, that the true policy of Europe will show itself, and the world will learn whether the great powers would govern in a spirit of wise and honest statesmanship, or short-sighted and greedy selfishness. The dissolution of the Turkish Empire, therefore, is not the crime of Russia; but the use which she proposes to make of that event, must determine the moral character of her policy. What, then, is the nature of her proposals? And it must not be forgotten that conversations contain no distinct propositions; they include, and were intended to convey, only an exchange of opinions as the basis of future agreement. Were they just towards the various people who have hitherto lived subject to Turkish rule, and were they in harmony with that principle of European policy which forbids the sudden and disproportionate growth of any one of its leading powers? The idea suggested by Russia in these conversations was, that in case of the dissolution of the Turkish Empire, as neither England nor herself could hold Constantinople, the Christian population of Turkey with the Slave provinces should be formed into independent governments under a Russian protectorate, while Egypt and Candia should become English provinces. As far as the Christian population of Turkey is concerned, such an arrangement would be a great gain. They would at once be delivered from the degrading

tyranny of Turkish rule ; and although governed to a great degree by a foreign will, they would be governed in sympathy with their faith and habits, and in view of their own interest. For it is clear that the interest of Russia would be to develop the commercial and agricultural resources of these countries to their fullest extent ; and the use which Russia has already in her history made of her gigantic power in promoting art, commerce, and industry, is a sufficient guarantee of the future. It is admitted on all sides, that the elements of a new Byzantine Empire do not at present exist. What better, then, could happen to the Slave provinces of Turkey than the quasi independence of a Russian protectorate ? Under such protection they would either become gradually integral parts of the Russian Empire, or they would form by consolidation among themselves a new kingdom, with its capital at Constantinople. Which of these results would occur would depend upon the interests of the Slave population themselves. In the meantime, Russia is specially adapted for their guardianship. It would be Russian interest to develop their resources, and to perfect their military strength and commercial capabilities. They would preserve under Russian rule more of their native habits and peculiar institutions than under any other power ; for Russia is, in fact, a vast confederacy of differing nationalities. It has been very justly and very well said, that " Ruling over eighty different nations or tribes, the autocrat of all the Russias claims the allegiance of people of every variety of race, tongue, and religion. Were it possible to transport to one common centre of his empire the gay opera lounge of St. Petersburg, habited in the Parisian mode ; the fierce Bashkir of the Ural mountains, clad in rude armor, and armed with bow and arrows ; the Armenian, with his camel from the southern steppes ; and the Esquimaux, who traverses with his dogs the frozen regions of the North—these fellow-subjects of one potentate would encounter each other with all the surprise and ignorance of individuals meeting from England, China, Peru, and New Holland ; nor would the time or expense incurred in the journey be greater in the latter than in the former interview." Now Russia, on this vast and varied field of labor, with what was originally a barbarous aristocracy and a brutal serfage, has achieved miracles ; she has built splendid cities, created a wide and rich commerce, nourished great statesmen, and given birth to renowned warriors ; she has improved the manners, increased the comforts, and as far as possible ameliorated the condition of her people ; and in doing all this, while she has of necessity centralized to an almost incredible degree the power by which she acts, she has not destroyed these peculiar habits, nor obliterated the native nationality of any one of her component people.

The Slave provinces of Turkey are not, it is admitted, ready for independence—they cannot yet consolidate into one free, firm government. What better condition, then, could be found than a quasi independence under the protection of Russia, which would enable them in the pursuit of their own interests to develop either into Russian provinces, or into the centre of a new European State, as the wants of the future may require? We cannot realize, we must confess, the existence of one Empire with two capitals, like St. Petersburg and Constantinople, and would consider even the unmodified absorption of Turkey into Russia but as one stage in that constant process of growth and dissolution, which has marked the history of all the great Empires of the world. But whether Russia is destined to absorb Turkey, and to become the vast Empire that terrifies European diplomacy, or whether she is destined to divide into two great kingdoms in the East of Europe, we cannot feel a doubt that, as far as the interests of the Christian population of Turkey is concerned, the change from the rule of the Sultan to the dominion of the Czar is to them a change for the better, freer, and higher political life. It must be noticed also, that while the Czar claims the gradual incorporation of those populations between whom and himself there exists the sympathy of race and faith, he is willing to relinquish the sovereignty of Egypt to England. He recognizes the truth of that principle, by which England has conquered India—the domination of the Anglo-Saxon race in its contact with the inferior nature of the Asiatic people.

Wherever the English settler lands, he conquers—he never incorporates, he subjects. Now the Turkish possessions cover two classes. 1. The Christian population of Turkey in Europe, who have in themselves the elements of life, activity, and prosperity: These, the Czar says, must be incorporated into an Empire understanding, and sharing their sympathies. 2. The Mahometan populations of Asia and Egypt: These have no vitality drawn from the past, no progress to be hoped for the future: they must be the subjects of Christian civilization; and he accordingly delivers them to the great Colonial nation of the world, whose commerce will renew, whose colonial genius will govern, and whose maritime power will protect, the trade, life, and territory, of these conquered countries, until they shall have been re-created by English capital and enterprise for a newer and more vigorous life. If, then, this scheme was just, as concerned the Christian provinces of Turkey, was it a fair proposition, in reference to the balance of power? Taking for granted the principles of this very indefinite system called the balance of power, we might fairly object to the theory of that system which confounds the balance of European power with the balance of the world. England herself, by the vast extension of her colo-

nial Empire, an expansion which, taken together with her maritime force, is equivalent to the territorial increase of any other nation of the world, has disturbed the old balance, and by extending herself in all parts of the globe, has brought all parts of the globe into the relations of this system. Having done so, she must adjust the balance on a new and larger scale. But we do not intend now to dwell on that point of view. We assume the European stand-point, and would remark, first, that the balance of power is a defensive system; not to prevent change, but to forbid oppression. The gradual, natural growth of any one nation, is not in violation of its principles, be the degree of power to which it attains ever so exaggerated, as is proved by the history of England herself. England came out of the wars of 1815 with immensely increased strength, both military and moral. She naturally, necessarily, without fraud or force, developed her commercial capabilities, and her colonial Empire, until she has become the greatest nation that history has recorded. This progress was owing, not only to her wealth, intellect, and enterprise, but to the exemption from the desolation of war, within her own borders, which had ravaged the continent from Moscow to Madrid, consuming its wealth, palsying its energy, and shutting out all field for the exertions of peaceful and industrial genius. With such a start, England has distanced Europe, and her power has grown with her prosperity, and on account of her prosperity. But a half century of peace has been rapidly improved by all the relations of Europe; and at their head stands Russia, who has developed her energies with gigantic efforts. The natural result is, that as Europe approximates to the prosperity of England, the power of Europe and England becomes more equally balanced, and the very same principles which, in their successful working from 1815 on, have made England the great power of the world, are in their extension bringing other powers more nearly to an equality. Now any change thus effected, is a legitimate and natural variation of the balance to be corrected, or confirmed by the progress of time; and any change in the relative power of England springing from the gradual increase of any other national prosperity, is just and proper. And it seems to us that it cannot be denied, that some such process has been at work in Europe, and that English influence, which has been dominant for the last half century, is about to be naturally and necessarily modified. The increase, then, of Russian influence is not of itself a proof that the balance of power has been irregularly disturbed. The question should be, Does the action of Russia threaten to subordinate the power of England, so as to neutralize or to destroy a necessary element in that balance? Not whether the power of England is diminished—for the balance itself may call for such diminution—but whether any pow-

er is to be strengthened into an autocracy? Now the Russian scheme, if it increased the power of Russia, did not certainly diminish the power of England. For even if it be granted that Russia would possess Constantinople, its natural power as the mistress of such a situation would be materially modified, by the neighborhood of England's great maritime power at Alexandria. And if Candia be added to Malta, Corfu, and Gibraltar, she would indeed be the ruler of the Mediterranean. As far, therefore, as the relative proportion of Russian and English power would affect the general balance, it must be admitted that the proposed scheme preserved the old proportions in its development. We think, then, that at the close of the conversations between the Czar and the British ambassador, Russia had fulfilled all her obligations to England, frankly and faithfully. A case had arisen which, in the opinion of the Russian Emperor, met the provisions of the memorandum of 1844. The crisis had, according to Lord John Russell, been unprovoked by Russia, and forced on France—it had assumed a very grave character. The Emperor called upon England for consultation and advice. He stated his opinions frankly, and without asking for any action which should initiate the destruction of the Ottoman Empire; he simply suggested the basis of a future understanding; and the leading ideas of his scheme, as we have shown, combined justice to the constituent elements of the Turkish Empire, with due regard to the preservation of European balance. England declined the responsibility of concerted action, and thus afforded the Czar the advantage pointed out by the British minister; and in his own words, which will form the verdict of history, "*left the Emperor at liberty, or placed him under the necessity, of following his own line of policy in the East.*"

And we insist the more strenuously upon this view, because from this stand-point only can we perceive the full character and consequence of Prince Menschikoff's mission. For upon this Turkish question Russia was forced to act either in concert with England, or alone. The concert which she sought was refused, and her own independent action was the only course left open. What influence, then, had Europe a right to exercise upon the relations of Turkey and Russia? and what restraint had Europe a right to put upon Russian policy? And here again we must repeat, that the whole policy of Europe in the East has been based upon two principles. 1. The final extinction of the Ottoman Empire; and 2. The presence of a certain degree of Russian influence over the Slave provinces of Turkey, as one of the elements to govern the future distribution of Turkish territory. The conversations and private correspondence between Russia and England began in January, and may be considered as terminated in April, 1853. Prince Menschikoff received orders

in February to prepare for his immediate departure to Constantinople. And towards the close of May, having failed in his mission, he withdrew from Constantinople. What difference was there between the Russian representation of his mission and its reality? Prince Menschikoff's mission ran parallel in point of time with the confidential communications to which we have already referred; and the correspondence in relation to it establishes two points: 1. That in the settlement of the Holy Places, while the Emperor declared that he would not require the withdrawal of any advantages gained by the French court, he distinctly announced that his leading object would be to obtain an *equivalent* for any such concessions; and 2. That in expectation of difficulty, the Czar did openly commence military preparations to meet any such emergency.

"In speaking to me yesterday," says Sir Hamilton Seymour, on February 10, 1853, "of Prince Menschikoff's instructions, which were again represented to be moderate in their character, the Chancellor observed that there was necessarily some vagueness in his orders; as on one side it was hardly ascertained to what extent the rights secured last year to the Greeks had been infringed; and on the other, there could be no question of attempting to regain from the Latins any of the privileges which they subsequently might have acquired at Jerusalem. *The object to be sought for was, therefore, an equivalent for any privilege lost by the Greeks.*"—*Blue Books*, Part I., 79. On March 24, 1853, Lord Cowley, the British ambassador at Paris, says, "Assurances are given that there is no intention on the part of Russia to disturb any arrangement made between France and the Porte in regard to the sacred buildings; *but it is laid down that if concessions have been made to the Latins, an equivalent will be required for the Greeks.* The whole tenor of the correspondence shows further, that the Emperor of Russia has no hostile feeling towards Turkey, and is anxious for the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire."—*Blue Books*, Part I., 96. And again, on March 31, the same ambassador, repeating the substance of the French dispatches from Constantinople, says: "He said that after the positive assurances given by the Russian Government, that there was no intention on their part to procure any retraction of the concessions made to France, the French Government were perfectly satisfied. The latter, moreover, had no pretension to interfere with any concessions which the Porte might think fit to accord, in compensation to the Greeks, unless the independence of Turkey should thereby be threatened, and even then it would be a case for the consideration of the great powers of Europe collectively, and not of France individually."—*Idem*, pp. 100, 101.

That England was aware of the military preparation of Rus-

sia, is evident in nearly all of the dispatches from St. Petersburg. On April 7th, 1853, Sir Hamilton Seymour writes to the Earl of Clarendon, "I observed that with the peaceful prospects which were now opening on us, I flattered myself His Excellency could now give me the assurance that military preparations were laid aside; at all events, that there was some commencement of discontinuance of military preparation. Count Nesselrode replied that *he did not feel at liberty to give me that assurance*; but that he did not hesitate to express to me his own conviction that the negotiation at Constantinople would be brought, and speedily, to a happy conclusion."—*Idem*, 142.

And Lord Clarendon himself, in his dispatch of May 31, to Sir Hamilton Seymour, says: "The negotiations at Constantinople have been supported by great demonstrations of force, and every preparation for war has been made in the Southern provinces of Russia. *Great Britain has long been a quiet spectator of those armaments*; but now that the relations between Russia and Turkey are broken off, it becomes our duty to ascertain," &c., &c.—*Idem*, 203.

During the whole of the discussions, therefore, it is clear that Prince Menschikoff's mission, "supported by great demonstrations of force," had for its open and avowed object the attainment of "*an equivalent*" for the Greeks. What must have been included in such an object? As long as the so-called integrity of the Ottoman Empire is preserved, the difficulty always must be to preserve the *status quo* of the contrariant influences of the European courts in Constantinople. Upon the proper and natural balance of these influences, indeed, depends that integrity; and this was the principle of the treaty of 1841—a treaty, it must be recollected, signed without the knowledge, and against the interests of France, and to which she gave, finally, a forced and sullen acquiescence. From the treaty of 1841 to 1852, the action of natural causes has modified the balance of these influences. The very elements of influence recognized in that treaty were gradually developing a modification of the relation of its parties in regard to Turkey. Between the Christian population of Turkey and Russia, the bonds of religious and political sympathy grew stronger and closer every day, and it could not be otherwise than that, in the natural course of events, Russian influence in Turkey must be predominant. This was only the necessary result of time, and the treaty of 1841. The growth, therefore, of this Russian influence must have been anticipated, and the memorandum of 1844 proves was anticipated, by England herself; and this State paper looks forward evidently to the *action* of Russia modified, restrained by, and concerted with England, as the regulator of the fate of the Ottoman Empire. It is admitted, as we have shown by Lord John Russell's own lan-

guage, that the *status quo* of European influence, as represented in Constantinople by the respective privileges of the Greeks and Latins, was violated by France, and that the French Minister had threatened the Sultan with the French fleet to carry his point. Here, then, was a distinct violation of the established balance against Russia. A long controversy ensued, and finally the Czar declared that he would leave the advantages gained by the French untouched, provided he received in turn from the Porte a *guaranteed* equivalent. Now the only difference, in fact, between Count Nesselrode's statement to Sir Hamilton Seymour, and Prince Menschikoff's demands upon the Sultan, was the *guarantee* of the equivalent. Count Nesselrode always said that an *equivalent* was his ultimatum. Prince Menschikoff required the equivalent to be guaranteed by a treaty: For Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, in his dispatch of May 19, 1853, says explicitly, "Of the Porte's intended note, it is but justice to say, that it declared a readiness to concede every point demanded by Russia, with the single exception of that form of guarantee; I mean an engagement with the force of treaty, which the Porte conceives to be inconsistent with its independence and sovereignty, and which opinion is more or less entertained by every one who may be supposed to have acquired a competent knowledge of the subject." —*Blue Books*, Part I., 205.

Taking this, then, as granted, we confess we cannot see, whatever may have been the variation in the style of language used by Count Nesselrode to Sir Hamilton Seymour, and that held by Prince Menschikoff to the Sultan, any real and substantial difference between the object of the mission, as declared at St. Petersburg, and the object as demanded at Constantinople. The demand of an equivalent implied the guarantee of the equivalent, particularly under the circumstances. For "it is but justice," says Lord Stratford, in his dispatch of May 22, 1853, after the departure of Prince Menschikoff from Constantinople, "to admit that Russia had something to complain of, in the affair of the Holy Places; nor can it be denied that much remains to be done for the welfare and security of the Christian population in Turkey. But it is equally true, that a fair measure of reparation has been given to the Russian ambassador," &c. Now, on this latter point, Russia was as much authorized to judge for herself, as England was to judge for her; and as to the great and leading objection afterwards made in the same dispatch, and in the English State papers generally, "as to the dangerous and inadmissible character of the powers which His Majesty's ambassador has sought to obtain at the Sultan's expense," we confess we realize the full force of Count Nesselrode's brief but practical reply to Sir Hamilton Seymour.

"I admitted," says Sir Hamilton Seymour, in the dispatch of

May 27th, 1853, "having some considerable time since learned from His Excellency that it was considered essential that the two firmans should be re-enforced by, or, if he pleased, embodied in, a convention; but, that there was entirely new matter in the 'Projet de Traité' brought forward by Prince Menschikoff; that there was now question of granting to the Emperor a right of protection over 10,000,000 of Greeks, which would render him more powerful in Turkey than the Sultan himself, *which would make them all look up to a foreign sovereign, and not to their own master.*"

"*Have they looked,*" Count Nesselrode replied, "*for the last hundred years, in any other direction?*"

It is unnecessary to follow the course of negotiations from the departure of Prince Menschikoff to the declaration of war, because the effort of diplomacy was then simply to relieve the parties in controversy from the consequences of the position in which they stood to each other at that point. These efforts having failed, the parties stood, therefore, at their close, just where they were at its commencement. An impartial statement of the whole controversy would appear to be this:—The difficulty has arisen, not from any regard to Turkey, nor from any real interest in her Christian subjects, but from the jealousy of the great powers of their respective influence, and seems to be the natural and unavoidable result of the treaty of 1841, and the condition of Turkey. By that treaty, Turkey was deprived of all real independence, her dissolution rendered certain, and Constantinople made the battle-field of foreign and contending interests. In 1852, France having made certain demands by which Russia considered the equilibrium of influences disturbed, the Czar finally required from Turkey a settlement of the local question in dispute, guaranteed by such a diplomatic transaction, whether treaty or note, as would protect the Greek Church for the future; but which in so doing, necessarily owing to the relations between Russia and the millions of Greek subjects in Turkey, would give extended force and increased energy to Russian influence in the Ottoman Empire. Turkey, sustained directly by the counsel and arms of England and France, refused to enter into any such diplomatic arrangement. Upon this refusal, Russia suspended all diplomatic relations with Turkey, and occupied the Danubian principalities. The allies of Turkey entered the Bay of Besika with their fleets, and Turkey declared war. The points which we think demonstrated by the correspondence are: 1. That France, in the first place, disturbed the *status quo*. 2. That Russia claimed what she considered an equivalent, and England and France sustained the Turkish refusal, on the ground that what was claimed gave an influence to Russia so large, as to disturb the balance of European power in Turkey. 3. And that it follows,

from these facts, that Russia could not yield her claim, without deferring to the joint and superior influence of France and England ; and that thus any termination of the difficulty would be a diminution of influence on one side or the other, and equally a disturbance of the balance which all the powers professed themselves anxious to preserve. Now, whatever we may think of the value of the controversy between Russia and the rest of Europe, it is clear that they are all fighting their own battles ; that Turkey is only what she has always been—a prize over which these powers are contending—and not an equal ally, whose interests they are protecting ; and that, be the result of this war what it may, it must end only in a change of masters—in the utter dissolution, or very serious diminution of the “ integrity of the Ottoman Empire.” For it has been the fortune of Turkey, in all her alliances, to illustrate the warning of Prince Metternich to Mons. de Saint-Aulaire, “ Prenez-y-garde cependant ; rien n’est plus utile que l’alliance de l’homme avec le cheval, mais il faut l’être l’homme et non le cheval.”

Considered simply in its effects upon Turkey, this question can have no interest for the American people. But there are some points of view in which it does assume proportions of a larger consequence :—

1. If the war, just commenced in Europe, should be prolonged, or widened into a general war, no result can compensate its disastrous action. If Austria and Prussia fail, finally, in devising some ground for diplomatic reconciliation, the war must become a tremendous struggle for power between Russia and England, France, in all probability, reaping the resulting benefits. For however the other States of Europe may range themselves, these two Empires stand foremost in the contest. We consider them, in the fulness of their strength, as both absolutely necessary to the safety and the future of Europe. We think there is, however, this difference between them : England has already touched that point beyond which any *increase* of her power is dangerous to the world, while Russia has not yet developed the matured proportions of that influence which she can fairly use for the world’s benefit. The rest of Europe is in a transition state ; its principles unsettled ; its populations ripe for revolution ; and its territorial limits marked for change. In that change, which is surely coming, Russia and England alone can exercise the influence of established power and consistent principles. Widely different as are their respective forms of government, they are yet both the natural creation of their respective situations ; and their joint action, in a spirit of justice, would be powerful to shape and control the future development of Europe. We would not have the power of England positively diminished an iota ; for she has played a great and

noble part in the world's history. She has been the foster-mother of commerce, and the founder of arts; nursed at her bosom, great empires have grown into the perfected manhood of national life; and in her living language were uttered the first broken sentences of constitutional liberty. But England has presumed too far in her pride of place. Of late, especially, she has interfered rashly, inconsequentially, and wrongfully, in every globe. The centre of the world's commerce; secure in her island position; fortified almost impregnably in Asia, Africa, and America; armed with a naval power unequalled in history, she has subjected the policy of the world to the test of her trading necessities, and has converted the business card of every itinerant bagman, who seeks orders for the hardware of Sheffield or the dry goods of Manchester, into a proclamation of British possession. The natural growth, therefore, of any counterbalancing European power is a clear gain to the world at large, especially where such a development neither springs from nor necessitates a violent invasion of England's present strength. In this light, the discomfiture of Russia, by the alliance of France and England, will be disastrous to Europe, and dangerous to the world, for it increases the power, and stimulates the ambitious activity, of the two most restless kingdoms of Europe—kingdoms whose natural jealousy has hitherto served as a mutual check. Any such result must give a preponderant continental influence to France; and should the yearning of France for the waters of the Rhine, and the passion of the revolutionary liberals, undertake the reconstruction of Europe, as everything indicates they will do, England must either renew the broken covenant with Russia, or submit to some redivision of Europe, in the interest of Napoleon. But passing by all such speculations, the alliance of England and France for joint action, according to Lord Clarendon, *in both hemispheres*, is a baleful phenomenon in politics. It bodes no good anywhere; but the Tripartite Convention as to Cuba illustrates fully its consequences in this country.

2. It is clear that the allied powers have gone to war, not in the maintenance of rights, or the defence of plain and direct interests, but for the preservation of their influence in the East. A glance at any map which marks the proportion between the territory of Turkey belonging to the Turks, and that occupied by her Christian populations; the natural sympathy of race and religion, and the history of the last century, prove, beyond cavil, that the influence of Russia in Turkey has grown largely, systematically, and naturally; that it is the legitimate development of elements distributed there by the God of nations himself; and that any check upon it is the result of an artificial political system, just only so far as it works with the natural principles of

national progress, and not against them. Now, this Russian influence England and France have combined to neutralize, and they rest their right of interference upon their relations to each other, and their guarantee of Turkish existence in 1841. Now, this is precisely the relation of England, France, and the United States to Cuba. The natural development of this country's influence upon Cuba must grow stronger and larger; the Tripartite Convention rested upon the claim of equal interest on the part of the European powers, and would, if adopted, have placed the existence of Cuba, in its present condition, under the same sort of treaty guarantee; and thus the very same principle which has carried the allied fleets into the waters of the Baltic, would have heralded their gracious presence in the Mexican Gulf. While, then, the relative interests of the contending powers are, to the American people, of no immediate concern, they may very naturally feel a sympathy with any power which threatens the destruction of an alliance which has professed principles of direct interference with their own interests. More than this, in the present condition of the world, there are certain duties which such a crisis imposes upon this government.

1. If this war continues, Russia, England, and France have all colonial possessions on this continent. Russia's possessions on the Pacific are becoming every day more important; and the relations of the European powers in the West Indies with the United States are becoming every day more threatening. Standing perfectly apart from the European quarrel, has not the United States the perfect right to declare that hostilities can, under no possible circumstance, be allowed to extend to this continent; that there shall be no change of possession among the colonial provinces of any of the contending powers? If the papers are correct, the Government has already been notified of the presence of British vessels of war near the Pacific possessions of Russia; and if the war between these powers be once allowed to extend to these shores, it will not be long before the United States finds her interests compromised.

If, as the *Times* of 24th May significantly says, "From Archangel, in the north, to Erzeroum—from the confines of Prussia to the northwestern territories of America—there rages, or is about to rage, a conflict gradually drawing within its exterminating vortex the leading nations of the world"—has not this Government a right to insist upon such a precautionary policy on this continent, at least, as will preserve the possibility of her neutrality? Now, situated as this country is towards the West Indies and the Pacific coast, we ought distinctly and decidedly to make it known, that European interests cannot influence the political adjustments of this quarter of the globe; that no change can take place in the relations of the colonial possessions of

Europe here, except in subordination to the interests of the "leading powers" of the Western world. And would it not be wiser to make such a declaration now, when it would apply with equal justice to all—than afterwards, when, if this war should become universal, such a declaration may work, indirectly, a violation of our neutrality?

2. A perfectly honest neutrality is possible only to a strong nation. All history proves that a weak nation is never allowed to maintain a neutral position, if the interests of greater kingdoms require its services. And this is more specially true of a maritime power; and in the present condition of international relations, a great maritime nation, armed with its due and proportionate naval strength, would be, if faithfully neutral, the great mediating power of the world. But it must be able to speak with the authority of might, as well as right. If the fleet of Sir Charles Napier were now in the Gulf, what would be the force of our protest?

3. In the present condition of things, and in the complications which the future seems to threaten, if there is one thing more necessary to this Government than another, it is full, accurate, impartial information of the strength, feelings, interests and intentions of the leading European powers. Now, there are two kinds of diplomatic service—the one consists in a direct interference with, and interest in, the political schemes of other nations, in an effort to modify or control the action of other powers, for our own purposes. And where nations are closely associated, as in Europe, in material and political interests, this service is one of great delicacy, dignity, and difficulty. Situated as the United States are, their interests open scarce any field for a like activity. But we stand somewhat like the old neutral and trading republic of Venice; and, like her, we might wisely cultivate the other kind of diplomatic service. Their ambassadors were everywhere thoroughly trained for observation; they passed gradually through the circle of national relations, and impartial spectators of the whole field of politics; they supplied the Government with such full and minute information, that it could at any moment comprehend the whole scope of European politics, and give each separate event its true significance. To do this, however, would require a thorough reorganization of our whole diplomatic system, on a higher basis, and upon a vastly more liberal scale, than is tolerated at present. Perhaps this, in the temper of the times, is impossible; but it is certain that questions of vast importance are casting portentous shadows as they come. If the struggle in Europe assumes the proportions of universal war, this country will have a noble, but difficult, task before it. It may not be able to stand between the contending parties as arbiter; but it can, at least, hold above the hot

strife those principles of international right which would be otherwise trampled out in the struggle, and stand in wise neutrality apart from the bloody follies of older nations. We can preserve, to this continent at least, the blessings and benefits of a well-guarded peace. But to do this, requires knowledge, strength, and temper; and if the United States is to play a proper part in the troubled times at hand, they will need three things: a thoroughly organized diplomatic system to tell them the truth; a navy commensurate with their rank, to support their decisions; and an honest, determined neutrality, as the corner-stone of their policy.

Art. II.—MINNESOTA.

ITS EXTENT—FERTILITY—AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES—SCHOOLS—RAPID GROWTH
—ST. PAUL—ST. ANTHONY—POPULATION IN 1854, &c., &c.

THE soft and harmonious name, *Minnesota*, is a compound Indian word, of comprehensive meaning, descriptive of the peculiar clouded color of the waters of the St. Peter's River, caused by the sedimentary blue clays brought down by its tributaries. This peculiarity in its appearance led the Indians living on its banks to call it *Minnesota*. The term *minne*, in the Sioux language, means *water*. The Chippewas, who lived to the north and east of the river, called it *Oskibugi Seepi*, or the Young Leaf River, in allusion to the early foliage of its forests.

Already the Mississippi, if we include its eldest daughter, the Ohio, has thirteen States upon its waters, not including Territories; and it furnishes an outlet to the commerce of several more. Minnesota is the last legislative creation whose highway to the busy world without is the Mississippi; and it bids fair, at no distant day, to make one of the noblest States of the Union. Its area, according to Mr. Darby, is about 200,000 square miles; but according to the U. S. Census for 1850, just published, it is only 141,839 square miles. Taking this last area to be correct, Minnesota is large enough to make four States of the size of Maine, and all of them fronting either upon the Mississippi, the Missouri, or upon Lake Superior.

Minnesota is bounded on the north by the 49th parallel of north latitude, by the Rainy Lake River, which runs from Rainy Lake into Lake of the Woods; by the chain of small lakes extending from Rainy Lake to the head waters of the Arrow River; and thence by the Arrow River to its entrance into Lake Superior. This northern boundary separates it from British America. On the east it is bounded by Wisconsin and Lake Superior; the separating line, between it and Wisconsin, being the St.

Louis River, as far up as the falls, a little above Fond du Lac ; a due north and south line from those falls to the St. Croix River, nearly where it is intersected by the 46th parallel of north latitude ; thence down that river to the Mississippi ; thence up the Mississippi to its intersection by the 93d meridian of longitude W. from London ; and thence south on that meridian to the northern boundary of Iowa. It is separated also from Iowa by the Sioux River, from its mouth to the northwest corner of that State. Its southern boundary is Iowa, and the Missouri River, which separates it from the Indian and Northwest Territories. On the west the Missouri separates it from the Northwest Territory, up to the mouth of the White Earth, a branch of the Missouri. The White Earth River, which runs nearly due south, completes the western boundary up to the dividing line between the United States and British America.

The immense Territory of Minnesota, which looks so well on the map, can be duly estimated, as to its extent, only by a comparison with other well-known States. It is a little larger than the States of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Maryland together, calling its area 141,839 square miles. But large as it is, it lacks 20,821 square miles of being *half* as large as Texas. The States of New-York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio together, are not as large as Minnesota by 8,875 square miles. Making a comparison with certain portions of Europe, Minnesota is about the size of 36 States of the Germanic Confederation, exclusive of Prussia and Austria, plus the whole of Belgium and Portugal. If Mr. Darby's estimate of 200,000 square miles is correct, Minnesota is about the size of France, or of the whole of Turkey in Europe.*

Minnesota must necessarily be a large country, when we consider the fact, that it gives origin to, and furnishes the entire waters of the Mississippi, above the mouth of the St. Croix ; 500 miles of that immense stream being within its borders. The Missouri washes its western border for about 1,000 miles ; while within its area flows, for more than 1,000 miles, the great Red River of the North, in nearly a due north direction to Lake Winnipeg. There are also the Sioux and Minnesota, each several hundred miles in length.

The entire eastern and southeastern portions of Minnesota appear to be a perfect wilderness of lakes and rivers. The lakes are generally small, and almost without number, and are drained almost entirely by the Mississippi River. They hang, as it were, upon all its upper branches, great and small, like fruit upon a tree, whose limbs were ready to break down with their load. Of these lakes, as yet, we have no very accurate description. Some of them are quite large. Minniwogan and Red

* See McCulloch's Geog. Dict.

Lake, both on the same parallel of latitude (48° N.), are the largest—the former a salt lake, west, and the latter a fresh, east of the Red River of the North.

Both banks of the Mississippi, within the boundaries of Minnesota, are quite elevated. This elevation is rocky, and often precipitous, at the water's brink, as high as St. Anthony's Falls. Above that point, which is, according to Nicolet, in lat. $44^{\circ} 58' 40''$ N., a succession of elevated plains, with forests of the drift stratum, come in, and characterize both banks, as far up as Sandy Lake, and, with intermissions, quite to the falls of Puckäguma. The consequence of this elevation is, that its waters, which reveal themselves abundantly in pure springs, lakes, and streams, flow into the Mississippi, with rapid currents and cascades, presenting numerous sites for mills. The pine forests of Minnesota may be readily converted into lumber to supply the central and lower portions of the Mississippi. The falls of the St. Croix, of the Chippewa, and other tributary streams, have already been occupied in part with saw-mills. At the falls of St. Anthony, where the Mississippi, agreeably to the measurement of Capt. S. Eastman, U. S. A., drops 20 feet perpendicularly, with strong rapids above and below, its power may be thrown, by a series of mill canals, upon almost any amount of machinery. There is water-power there enough available to put in motion all the machinery on the globe. This point, which is distant 900 miles above St. Louis, and about 2,200 miles from the Gulf of Mexico, is the true head of steamboat navigation of heavy tonnage, and must become, at no very distant day, a great manufacturing city and point of transshipment. In a future state of the country, steamboats of moderate size will be built to run above the falls, during high water, as high up as Comtaguma, or Sandy Lake, and Puckäguma. They may also ascend the De Corbeau, to the mouth of Leaf Liver.*

The topography and general geography of Minnesota cannot be well understood without giving full prominence to the character, course, and origin of the Mississippi. Geologically considered, the Mississippi River originates in the erratic block-group, or drift stratum of the north, in lat. $47^{\circ} 13' 35''$, and long. W. from Washington 18° , according to Nicolet. This stratum develops itself in a prominent range of sand-hills, once probably naked ocean dunes, which throw out copious springs of the purest water on all sides. Those infant sources of the "Father of Rivers" first gather themselves together in a handsome lake, Itasca, of some five to seven miles in length, whose shores are surrounded with deciduous trees. The scene is one of picturesque beauty. From this lake the Mississippi sets out on its

* Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, Part I., p. 184.

wonderful course of more than 3,000 miles to the Gulf, by an outlet sixteen feet wide, by a depth of fourteen inches—making a body of pure crystal water, gliding rapidly over a sandy and pebbly bed, in which the traveller, as he shoots along in his canoe, can see the broken, white and pearly valves of the union and other fresh-water shells of the lake scattered in its bed.* Thus much topographically. This great Northern drift stratum, which constitutes the height of land, rests on a broad range of the crystalline or primary rocks, which cross the continent between latitudes about 44° to 50°, linking together the mountain groups of the Labrador and Hudson's Bay coasts with the Rocky Mountains. To these broad ranges and mountain outbreaks, as they are developed west of James' Bay, and north of Lake Superior, Bouchette, the geographer of Canada, has applied the name of Cabotian Mountains, in allusion to the true discoverer of North America. Agreeably to this theory, the St. Louis River, which falls into the head of Lake Superior, presenting a series of magnificent views and cataracts, passes transversely through the Cabotian chain; while the Rainy Lake and the Lake of the Woods lie north of it. This range of transverse rocks, which, with all its diluvial and drift covering, does not rise over 1,600 feet above the ocean, may be said, by its "rocky roots," to continue west from the Itasca highlands, and to divide the waters of the Upper Missouri from those of the Sas Katchiwine, and Assinaboine Valleys of Red River and Lake Winnipeg. The natural line of elevation denotes this. It is, in fine, the transverse *Wasserschied* between the Hudson's Bay and the St. Lawrence waters and the Gulf of Mexico.†

It is impossible to visit this remote summit, to which the French apply the term *Hauteur des Terres*, and examine its oceanic dunes, gravel-beds, and sand plains, without supposing the present condition of its surface to be the result of oceanic currents, however produced, which, at a very ancient period of the globe's history, poured their waters over these heights, surcharged with the ruins of broken strata and disrupted formations which overspread even the area north of them.‡ These ruins consist of sandstones and slates, and of primary rocks from remote positions—trap and green stone, grauwackes and amygdaloids, telling of the prostration of volcanic formations, with all their peculiar imbedded minerals and veinstones. Laved agates, chalcedonies and carnelians are found, both in the dry drift, at the highest elevations, and about the shores of lakes and streams. These masses have been carried by fluvial ac-

* Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, Part I., p. 185.

† Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes.

‡ Geological Report of the Expedition of 1820. War Office.

tion down the Mississippi valley to great distances, as low as St. Louis and Herculaneun.*

The general character of Minnesota is that of a high rolling prairie; but the borders of the lakes and streams abound with valuable timber, and there is no section of North America of the same area exhibiting so little of waste land. The soil, in general, is equal if not superior in fertility to that of any State in the Union. We cannot here refrain from quoting the language of the late Governor of Minnesota, Alex. Ramsey:

"Of the 37,000,000 of square geographical miles of territorial surface which the globe, according to Malte Brun, contains, probably no tract," says Mr. Ramsey, "of equal extent with that of Minnesota, embraces a fewer number of acres doomed to eternal sterility. Within its extreme limits, it may be safely asserted, that there is hardly a rood that is not arable; for the wet and swampy lands are easily drained, and eventually will be the most eagerly sought for agricultural purposes. Rapid streams, fed from rich prairies, and shaded by noble forests; clear lakes stocked with fish; a soil enriched with the spoils of the decayed vegetation of several thousand years, are features common to the entire region. Rich veins of mineral wealth and an inexhaustible command of water-power, point it out as the future abode of manufacturing greatness; while the boundless plains, subdued by the voluntary toil of freemen, will become the chosen abiding-place of pastoral republicanism. The whole is watered by streams, which form so many natural outlets into the great commercial artery of our continent, the Mississippi. These various rivers, in great part navigable, each with their own set of tributary streams, some fed by rills which gush from fertile highlands, others draining lakes of transparent clearness, form a chain of inland communication, which, as a natural feature, is unknown in the physical geography of the Eastern Hemisphere. Over all, and through all, pervades a climate which stimulates exertion, and is eminently favorable to health.

"The head waters of the Des Moines take their rise within the southern line of the purchase. The lands adjacent to this border, though comparatively far interior, are rich, rolling, well watered and well wooded, and, from the superior agricultural opportunities they afford, will at an early day attract a large immigration.

"The famous valley of the St. Peter's extends in a general direction from west to east, midway through the cession. This valley as well as the country upon its tributaries, such as the Blue Earth, the Warraju, and the Redwood, constitute the garden spot of Minnesota, in the estimation of a western public; and hither the faces of thousands will be turned, so soon as intelligence is received of the ratification of the treaties by the Senate.

"Equal in beauty and fertility to the basin of the St. Peter's is the country watered by the Crow River. This stream, after collecting by its north branch the pure waters near the great bend in the Red River of the North, and by its southern fork draining the lakes as far west as Lac-qui-parle, meanders through the 'Grand Bois' of the *voyageurs*, and enters the Mississippi nearly opposite the town of Itasca. The country upon each margin is highly inviting, and will be early settled.

"The Sauk is a bold and rapid river, with well-wooded banks. The valley between this stream and the Watab presents to the eye the most fascinating landscape in Minnesota, and in quiet beauty is hardly excelled by the most

* Schoolcraft's View of the Lead Mines of Missouri.

celebrated scenery abroad. This tract of land is capable of sustaining a dense population in comfort and affluence.

"The region of country which skirts Lake Pepin is familiar to our people. Rich in mineral wealth, studded with sites of extraordinary commercial promise, it will be eagerly sought by thousands who have long impatiently awaited an opportunity for its occupancy.

"The *Undine Region* of Nicolet, situate about the tributaries of the *Manakato*, or Blue Earth River, is beautifully diversified with prairies, lakes, and forest; and altogether constitutes one of the most interesting physical features of the American continent."

It is an opinion which still prevails, to some extent, that Minnesota, if not absolutely a barren region, is, in its extreme northern parts at least, extremely cold, inhospitable, and forbidding, bound with almost perpetual ice and snows, and yielding to its scattering Indian and other population but a miserably poor and scanty subsistence. This, however, is far from being the case, high as the latitude of that region is. Governor Ramsey, in speaking of the Selkirk settlement, on the extreme northern boundary of Minnesota, observes:—

"The agricultural colony within the British line, commonly known as the Selkirk settlement, with its centre at the junction of the Assiniboine with Red River, in the fiftieth degree of north latitude, is a picture of rural affluence and comfort. For miles on either bank of each of these streams, extending, in village-like proximity, the comfortable tenements of the settlers—their farms inclosed with good fences, invariably facing the river. The appearance of grazing cattle, of well-built and well-stocked barns, of grain-ricks, of churches and school-houses, denote a community far advanced in social comfort, and successfully employed in the pursuits of husbandry. The earth is fruitful, and yields ample supplies for the use of man; the almost miraculous rapidity of spring compensates the long months of winter; wheat, rye, oats, barley, potatoes, and the different garden vegetables grow in abundance.

"It may be well for those abroad, who, shivering, dream of Minnesota as an arctic region, and deem her climate as inhospitable, and her soil churlish, to reflect that this settlement lies one hundred miles north of the northernmost limit of our Territory. To such, this fact is commended, as a conclusive answer to the objection, that Minnesota is too far north to admit of profitable agriculture.

"A portion of the Territory, east of the Mississippi, chiefly confined to the country in the occupancy of the Chippewas, is swamp land, which will require drainage before it will admit of successful cultivation. With this exception, it is hardly an exaggeration to assume, that in the entire region embraced within our extensive borders, there is scarcely an acre that is not tillable. I was informed by Governor Colville, of Rupert's Land, that on Peace River, which empties into Athabasca Lake, in latitude 58°, barley and other cereals were successfully cultivated.

"These facts are not alone of deep interest to ourselves—they are doubtless gratifying to the friends of humanity everywhere, for they carry assurance that large districts of this continent heretofore deemed sterile and repulsive, are competent to support in abundance and independence thousands of our race."

The same testimony, in reference to the climate, fertility of

the soil, and the agricultural capabilities of Minnesota is also borne by Mr. Schoolcraft, in his great work on the Indian Tribes of North America.

In all the northern latitudes, south of 49°, says Schoolcraft, the cereal grains, where the soil is arable, can be relied on as profitable crops, year in and year out. At Cass Lake, on the sources of the Mississippi, in N. lat. 47°, and at the mission of Red Lake, still within the boundaries of the United States, but a few minutes south of 49°, the sea maize is raised without difficulty. At the Red River settlements, in the Pembina region, it has not been known to fail at all, when not destroyed by floods. Throughout all this range of latitude, bordering the national boundary, wheat, rye, oats, and potatoes amply reward the husbandman. We have seldom or never seen more vigorous productions of the field and garden than mark the area of Minnesota; and the same vigor of production, by all accounts, marks the region of arable plains reaching west and northwest from the Minnesota, the Sac, and the Crow-wing rivers, to the settlements of Hudson's Bay, on Red River. The great buffalo plains, which reach from the sources of the St. Peter's or Minnesota, and Red River of the North, to the banks of the Missouri, and stretch from its great northern bend to the waters of the Cheyenne, the Mouse, and the Saskatchewan rivers, are probably, by their climate and fertility, destined hereafter to sustain as dense a population of agriculturists as any part of America. It is in these temperate latitudes that agriculture is performed without irrigation; while its healthfulness and salubrity of atmosphere, summer and winter, render them a geographical theatre peculiarly suitable to the inhabitants of temperate and northern climates. Their occupancy by full and dense settlements is a mere question of time; and it is believed that half the period which has marked our national history will show the best parts of this northern region to sustain as many persons to the square mile as any State in the Union. Compare large portions of the arid tracts of Upper Texas, of New Mexico, and of California, with this northern region, for its agricultural capacities, and the former must sink into insignificance.*

That our readers may have a tolerably accurate sketch of the present condition of Minnesota, and thus be able to see the wonderful progress that this new Territory has made within the last three or four years only, we will lay before them an extract from Governor Ramsey's last message, delivered at St. Paul last year. His glowing language is not dictated by mere fancy or imagination, but it is the language of truth:—

"In concluding this my last annual message, permit me to observe that it is now a little over three years and six months since it was my happiness

* Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, Part IV., pp. 183-4.

to first land upon the soil of Minnesota. Not far from where we now are, a dozen framed houses, not all completed, and some eight or ten small log buildings, with bark roofs, constituted the capital of the new territory, over whose destiny I had been commissioned to preside. One county, a remnant from Wisconsin territorial organization, alone afforded the ordinary facilities for the execution of the laws; and in and around its seat of justice resided the bulk of our scattered population. Within this single county were embraced all the lands white men were privileged to till; while between them and the broad rich hunting grounds of untutored savages, rolled, like Jordan through the Promised Land, the River of Rivers, here as majestic in its northern youth as in its more southern maturity. Emphatically, new and wild appeared everything to the in-comers from older communities; and a not least novel feature of the scene was the motley humanity partially filling these streets,—the blankets and painted faces of Indians, and the red sashes and moccasins of French *voyageurs* and half-breeds, greatly predominating over the less picturesque costume of the Anglo-American race. But even while strangers yet looked, the elements of a mighty change were working, and civilization, with its hundred arms, was commencing its resistless and beneficent empire. To my lot fell the honorable duty of taking the initial step in this work, by proclaiming, on the 1st of June, 1849, the organization of the Territorial government, and consequent extension of the protecting arm of law over these distant regions. Since that day, how impetuously have events crowded time! The fabled magic of the Eastern tale that renewed a palace in a single night, only can parallel our reality of growth and progress.

"In forty-one months, the few bark-roofed huts have been transformed into a city of thousands, in which commerce rears its spacious warehouses, religion its spired temples, a broad capitol its swelling dome, and luxury and comfort numerous ornamented and substantial abodes; and where nearly every avocation of life presents its appropriate follower and representative. In forty-one months have condensed a whole century of achievements, calculated by the old world's calendar of progress—a government proclaimed in the wilderness, a judiciary organized, a legislature constituted, a comprehensive code of laws digested and adopted, our population quintupled, cities and towns springing up on every hand, and steam with its revolving wings, in its season, daily fretting the bosom of the Mississippi, in bearing fresh crowds of men and merchandise within our borders.

"Nor is that the least among the important achievements of this brief period, which has enabled us, by extinguishing the Indian title to 40,000,000 acres of land, to overleap the Father of Waters, and plant civilization on his western shore. Broad and beautiful, by universal concession, are these newly-acquired lands—the very garden spot of the Northwest, as explorers have pronounced them—and it is scarcely surprising, though less than six months have elapsed since the ratification of the treaties by the Senate, that the keen-eyed enterprise of our race has within them already planned towns, built mills, opened roads, commenced farms, the nucleus of many a happy home.

"But it is, however, in their initiatory stages only, we can consider the present growth and advancement of our Territory in all the constituents of national and individual prosperity. Our brief, though energetic past, foreshadows but faintly the more glorious and brilliant destiny in store for us in the future; nor is prophetic inspiration necessary to foretell it. It is written so plainly that he who runs may read it. It is written in the advantages nature has so liberally bestowed upon us; by a beautiful country, unqualified by the drawback of much waste land, with an universally fertile soil, where prairies, 'that blossom as the rose,' with groves and woods, are proportionately intermingled; while dotting it over, in refreshing profusion, are gem-

like lakes, and intersecting its map, at convenient distances, are crystal streams, whose precipitous waters afford elements out of which to create future Lowells and Manchesters.

It is written in our geographical position, in the centre of our continent, at the head of the Mississippi valley, and enfolding either bank of the great river with its very head springs, even as its delta is embraced on both sides by our sister Louisiana. It is written in our proximity to Superior's inland sea, and the abundant mines of rich ores possessed alike by its northern, as by its southern shores—mines, whose workmen it will be our inevitable lot to feed and clothe, and whose rough products our manufacturing skill will ultimately fit for the markets of the world. It is written in the fact that nearly half a million of people from the old world and the elder portion of the new, are every year seeking homes in our broad West—a tide of migration that must speedily engross the fertile fields of Minnesota, invitingly spread open to their possession, almost 'without money and without price.' And it is written likewise on a thousand features of interest and advantage incident to our Territory: in our extensive pineries, the livelihood of hardy lumbermen, and a future chief resource for building purposes of the people of the great valley below us; in the many opportunities for manufacturing establishments offered by our magnificent water powers, and the ease with which the Mississippi enables us to procure the material, and export the products of factory labor; in our salubrious climate, insuring a healthy, hardy, and numerous population, and in the immediate advantage to our early growth and prosperity, which follows the expenditure of a quarter of a million of dollars annually by the national Government, for the benefit of the Indian tribes in our midst.

"That which is written is written—the life of a short generation will realize it. In ten years a State—in ten years more half a million of people, are not extravagant predictions. In our visions of that coming time, rise up in magnificent proportions one or more capitals of the North, Stockholms and St. Petersburgs, with many a town besides, only secondary to these in their trade, wealth and enterprise. Steam on the water and steam on the land, everywhere, fills the ear and the sight. Steamboats crowd our waters, and railroads, intersecting in every direction, interlink remotest points within and without our Territory. The blue waters of Lake Superior and the red-tinged floods of the Mississippi are united by iron bands, and a south-eastern line connects St. Paul direct with Lake Michigan. The great New-Orleans and Minnesota Railroad pours into its depot, somewhere on the upper Minnesota River, passengers and products from the far sunny South, to receive in return, for ultimate ocean transit perhaps, furs and merchandise from the polar circle, which steamboats on the Red River of the North, or a railroad on its banks, have just brought from Selkirk, or the plains of distant Athabasca. Let none deem these visions improbable, or their foreshadowing impracticable. Man, in the present age, disdains the ancient limits to his career, and in this country, especially, all precedents of human progress, growth of States, and march of Empires, are set aside by an impetuous originality of action, which is at once both fact and precedent. Doubtless an overruling Providence, for inscrutable purposes, has decreed to the American nation this quicker transition from the wilderness of nature to the maturity of social enjoyments—this shorter probation between the bud and the green tree of empire, and it well becomes us, therefore, in our gratulations upon present prosperity, and in our speculations upon greater power and happiness in the early future, to render humble, yet fervent, thanks 'unto Him who holdeth nations in the hollow of his hand, and shapes out the destinies of every people.'

Education in Minnesota has also participated in the general

rapid stride of everything else, and the common school system is ready in operation. From the last report of the Superintendent of Common Schools, addressed to the Legislative Assembly of the Territory, it appears that—

"The first school of any description in the Territory was taught at the trading-house of the late Mr. Ailkin, at Sandy Lake, in the year 1832, by Mr. F. Ayer, now principal of a school at Belle Prairie, in Benton county. He was succeeded by Mr. E. F. Ely, now of St. Paul.

"In 1833 the Rev. W. T. Boutwell opened a school at Leech Lake, and in 1834 Mr. Ely taught at Fond du Lac. In 1837 a school was opened by Mr. Ayer at Lake Pokegama.

"The first school in Minnesota west of the Mississippi was taught by Miss S. Poage, now Mrs. Gideon H. Pond, in 1835, at Lac-qui-Parle. The next year Rev. Samuel W. Pond taught at the Dakota village at Lake Harriet, west of St. Anthony. In 1837 a school was opened at Kaposin, and in 1840 it was moved to Red Rock. In 1842 a school was commenced at the mouth of the St. Croix.

"If we are not misinformed, one of the early teachers in the Indian country, and two of the pupils of those teachers, have been members of past Legislative Assemblies.

"Through the aid of the National Board of Popular Education, the services of Miss H. E. Bi-hop were secured, and in the spring of 1848, in a decayed log-hut, with bark roof, that stood on or near the site of the First Presbyterian Church of St. Paul, she commenced the first regular English school in Minnesota, the army school at Fort Snelling excepted. It was composed of nine children, chiefly half-breeds. Shortly after, another English school was opened at Stillwater, by a lady under the auspices of the National Education Society. During the summer of 1849, another lady from the same Board, now a teacher among the Choctaws, taught the first school at St. Anthony, in a building at present used as a stable.

"In 1848 a school-house was erected at Stillwater, and also at St. Paul. The building at the latter place is now used as a lawyer's office, and adjoins the First Presbyterian Church."

The increase of population being very rapid, school-houses are multiplying in every inhabited part of the Territory, and the people are giving them a liberal support. Two sections of land, in each township, are reserved by law for the support of public schools therein; and by the same act, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to set apart and reserve from sale out of any of the public lands within the Territory of Minnesota, to which the Indian title has been, or may be extinguished, and not otherwise appropriated, a quantity of land not exceeding two entire townships, for the use and support of a University in said Territory, and for no other use or purpose whatsoever, to be located by legal subdivisions of not less than one entire section. This princely donation of forty-six thousand acres of land will place the University of Minnesota, if judicious selections are made, among the best endowed institutions of learning in the West.

The Legislature of the Territory passed, in 1851, an act incorporating the University of Minnesota, to be located at the Falls of St. Anthony; and on the 4th of March of that year, a

Board of Regents, consisting of 12 persons, was organized. The preparatory department of the University was opened for students on the 26th of November, 1851. It is now in a flourishing condition, and has about 100 students. The last Report of the Board of Regents of the University of Minnesota speaks favorably of its present condition and future prospects.

The exact population of Minnesota, at the present moment, cannot be fully determined, but it probably amounts to at least 10,000 souls, exclusive of 25,000 Indians, most of whom are soon to be removed. From the Report of the Adjutant-General of Minnesota, made in February, last year, there were then in the Territory 5,000 persons subject to military duty; and the emigration thither is, as all know, extremely rapid.

The capital of Minnesota, St. Paul, which, four years ago, did not contain half a dozen houses, has become, as by magic, a thriving city of 5,000 people, containing 7 churches, 6 schools, 5 Odd Fellow and Masonic Lodges, 4 daily, 4 weekly, and 1 tri-weekly newspaper. There are also the public buildings, erected by the General Government, a market-house, and a hospital. The city contains 800 houses, and is growing rapidly.* The amount of capital invested in trade and manufacturing establishments is \$1,374,500, which is a quarter of a million of dollars more than was invested last year at this time.

Internal improvements, in Minnesota, are projected on a large scale. Railroads will soon intersect it in every direction, connecting St. Paul with Lake Superior, with Lake Michigan, and with the navigable waters of the Red River of the North; while, in all probability, many of the present generation will live

* A late Minnesota paper says:—"To our original nucleus of population, a thousand people have been added for each year of growth! The whole census of the Territory five years ago—though the tavern registers were then copied and the dead summoned from their graves to figure on the census rolls—numbered fewer souls by several hundred than St. Paul herself, single-handed, can at this day show filling her busy streets. Her 'two dozen houses'—(nearly a half of these were whisky dens and a moiety bark-roofed log huts)—have had a myriad progeny; for almost a hundred buildings are presented now for every one that was standing at that period; and amidst them at the present time, we are happy to recognize the churches bidding fair to outnumber the groggeries; which was not by any means the case at any time in 1849!—while amongst the crowd of structures we observe one brick hotel of such ample dimensions, that within it alone the whole of original St. Paul, houses and people, might easily have been incased; though with anything less than a sort of Chinese wall, it would be a tough job to attempt to inclose our modern five-year-old city! We learn from a gentleman who is well informed, and whom we deem reliable authority, that upwards of fifty houses have been erected in this city since the opening of spring. He is of the opinion, gathered from the number of contracts now in hand, that during the months of June, July, and August, there will average in this city one new building per day. To the superficial observer this statement may appear incredulous, but let him take a stroll through the city and notice the new houses in course of erection, and if he does not then alter his mind, he is too prejudiced to live in this community. Judging from the past, we do not consider the prophecy too strong, or the fulfilment of it an impossibility."

to see St. Paul the eastern terminus of a great Pacific railroad, stretching from Minnesota to Puget's Sound.

The tide of emigration to Minnesota is immense, and new towns are springing up in the wilderness in every direction. A company of capitalists from Washington and St. Paul have purchased the town site of St. Peter's, on the Minnesota River, formerly known as "Rock Bend," and have completed their arrangements for the immediate erection of a first-class hotel, steam saw-mill, warehouse, and several stores, at an expense of twenty-five thousand dollars.

St. Peter's possesses many advantages over other points, among which it affords the most eligible crossing for all roads which have to cross the Minnesota River. This crossing is represented on the Government maps as the most desirable point at which railroads can cross, and must have a tendency to awaken an interest in the new town. The Government road to Fort Ridgely has been already located here.

There appears to be a general rush for the place, and it is likely soon to become a considerable town. St. Anthony, on the Mississippi, nine miles from St. Paul, is also a thriving place, and will doubtless be a large city.

We have not room to say the half that might be said of Minnesota. It will soon take its place in the Union, as a sister State, and as another shining example of American intelligence, industry, and enterprise.

ART. III.—THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.*

I PROPOSE to invite your attention to some practical considerations of a political and social character, connected with the well-being of that portion of this great confederacy in which we dwell. I am not going to speak to you in a sectional spirit, although I shall speak to you of your sectional interests. I am not going to offend the tastes or shock the sensibilities even of the most sensitive Union man—unless, indeed, that should happen from strenuously urging upon my Southern countrymen the duty and policy of burnishing their arms, and going through that athletic training, which is necessary to enable them to keep pace with their fellow-citizens of the North, in the struggle of industrial development, and in the race of civilization. The Northern man can but view my argument with complacency, for its basis is a high compliment to those great moral qualities of thrift, energy, and courage, which have transformed a cold and inhospitable climate into a landscape of waving harvest fields, splendid cities, prosperous villages and farms, and homesteads possessing every

* Read before the Franklin Society of Mobile, by John Forsyth, Esq., 1854.

requisite to give a charm to life. To the Southern man my argument must commend itself for its truth; and truth, though often unpalatable, when sowed in the generous soil of ingenuous minds, bears flowers and fruit, and not thistles and thorns.

I suppose I could have prepared for your amusement a literary repast, light, elegant, and fanciful. I might have woven for you a delicate tissue of literary embroidery. I might have bound up for you a garland of luscious poesy, plucking here and there a brilliant carnation or a modest violet from the grand parterre, which Anglo-Saxon genius has made starry with its affluent gifts. I might have taxed my imagination for tropes and figures of speech, and drawn upon my reading for those "thoughts that breathe and words that burn," with which the wit and eloquence of ancient and modern times have so enriched the written speech of man; but I prefer not to tread here the realms of fancy—I suppose the objects of this literary institution and of these lectures to be improvement rather than entertainment—and that practical thoughts, the suggestions and ponderings of each speaker's mind, will be more in keeping with them, than polished periods and rounded and musical sentences. My theme, then, shall be a homely and domestic one—the condition of this Southern section of our common country, and the relations which it bears to its kindred members of the confederacy. I propose to inquire into the relative progression of the Plantation States with the Commercial and Farming States in the career of development and civilization; whether they have kept up with or fallen behind their compeers in moral and intellectual attainments and physical improvement, in the aggregate increase of national wealth, and in all those arts of life which so largely contribute to the virtue, contentment, and happiness of mankind. At the threshold of this inquiry, we are embarrassed by the difficulties which always accompany a comparison of dissimilars. The habits of thought and of action of the Northern and Southern people are as dissimilar as are the institutions and the circumstances of climate, soil, products and employments, which are the moulds of their respective characters. To draw a comparison between people so differently circumstanced and nurtured, is like comparing a glowing sunset to a placid lake, a mountain to a valley, the ocean at rest to the ocean lashed into fury by the outpouring elements.

All these are sublime objects, but in everything except sublimity as unlike as possible. Our Republican system of government, and the great principles of liberty and of law common to all, have given to the States as a whole a political nationality and identity as broadly defined as can be found in any people on the globe. There is a "magic chord" of patriotism which binds all American hearts together, and along which vibrates the electric current wherever a citizen dwells, from ocean to ocean. As to

things external, we know no sections, and local boundaries are obliterated. We are here literally a "band of brothers," and the quarrel of one is the just cause of all. Whether on the burning plantations of Louisiana, amid the frosts of New-England, on the plains of the young, hardy, and vigorous West, or the far-distant California sloping to the Pacific—wherever the rustle of the stars and stripes is heard over an American's head, his heart beats with a quicker responsive throb. As regards the outer world, we are *ONE*. We are in our aggregate and collective, as has been beautifully said of our federative capacity, "Distinct as the billows, but one as the sea." But our interior history presents to the eye of the observer many and most salient points of difference in personal character. Provincialism is still strongly marked, although it has been greatly modified by increasing facilities of communication; and railroads, telegraphs, and steamers are destined still further to soften the differences and add to the homogeneousness of a people spread over a whole continent, and sprung from almost every blood that has stocked the earth. That these differences should exist originally is not surprising, when we remember the origin of the American race. The hordes that poured from the north of Europe upon the vine-clad and classic plains of ancient Italy, and overturned the gigantic power of Rome, were a homogeneous people compared to the races who first settled the Western world. Every blood, religious sect, and political creed was sprinkled over the continent. Puritans and Cavaliers, Catholics and Huguenots, English, French, Dutch, Irish and Africans, Bigots and Infidels, Religious martyrs and brave-spirited adventurers—America bid fair to present a mosaic of nations, a conglomerate that might well puzzle philosophic speculations as to the genius of its national character and institutions. But happily the Anglo-Saxon blood was the fundamental stock, and ideas of religions and civil liberty were imported with it, to expand, and strengthen, and vivify in the pure, free air of this virgin world.

Taking the North and South as the representatives of the two great types of our people, I ask, what two human beings can present so many strong points of characteristic difference, as a native-born Southern countryman, an unadulterated cracker, and a country born and bred New-Englander, an unadulterated Yankee? One is slow, and the other quick—one takes a minute to rise from his seat, the other never sits at all except in pursuance of a calculation—one is not without faculties, but they seem to be all asleep—the other, with all his wits alive, with sagacity, curiosity, invention. The one content to doze away life, with as little labor as possible and all the enjoyment compassable; his log hut, wool hat, homespun suit, and corn, bread, and bacon, the limits of his desires, for domicile, vesture, and food: loving his

gun and his horse, addicted to tobacco and strong drink, quick to anger, a dangerous enemy, and a fast friend. The other instinct with life, activity, and intelligence, never satisfied with present well-being, while anything better lies beyond to tempt his longings, and try his wits. He has a taste for a nice cottage—all creature comforts are dear to him—neatness, order, method, reign in his humble house, in his fields, and his barns. Like the bee and the ant, he is provident for the long winter. He has no time for shooting for a beef at the cross-roads or the grocery. With him life is too short to lose a moment; every hour has its business. He has much to do, and if he cannot find it at home, he seeks it abroad, on land or ocean, no matter where. Let thrift call, and he will follow it to the antipodes—to the North or South pole. Origin, climate, and education cause these surprising differences, and what is true of these extreme representatives of the types, is true in a modified form of the types themselves—the vein of distinction running through the social frame-work of the two people. The results are as marked as the causes which produce them are diverse and fundamental. To the superficial observer, the comparison is immediately favorable to the superior civilization of the North. Foreign and domestic criticism at once pronounces the North an hundred years ahead of the South in material wealth, well-being, and luxury. The vast commerce of the North, her ships and steamers bearing her people and our common flag to every part of the navigable globe, and returning laden with the productions, the commodities, and luxuries of every clime; her huge and splendid commercial Emporia, her merchant princes, her luxurious residences, to which the taste and genius of the whole world contribute; her vast private fortunes, her magnificent enterprises of associated labor and capital, her canals and railroads, the teeming industry of her workshops, her religious, eleemosynary, and educational institutions, her surprising developments in wealth, art, taste, and luxury—all these strike the beholder with wonder at the thrift, talent, and energy which have achieved such mighty results. But while we “render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s,” while we freely accord the “*palnam ferat qui meruit*,” let not the Southern man, dazzled by these visions of glittering prosperity, do injustice to the institutions, the virtues, and physical progression of his native South. The splendid example set before us by our Northern brethren is worthy of our most energetic and ambitious emulation. We should arouse ourselves for the conflict of generous rivalry—conquer the natural lethargy which a free soil and a relaxing climate induce, and strip for the race, to which we are invited by a people so extraordinary in energy and movement. Let us strive to overtake them in all the general statistics of progress: let us light our lamps at those altars, whose fires of industry, forecast, and sagacity

are ever burning—let us learn of them how to build up our cities; to whiten our harbors with the canvas of commerce; to adorn and beautify our rural districts with abodes of comfort and elegance; to enrich our soils by the aids which science has offered and they have received; to expend our labor in opening all the avenues of trade and prosperity; binding the mountains and the sea-board, the fruitful valleys and the shipping ports, by substantial, rapid, and economical ways of transit and communication. Let us imitate them in all these good and valuable qualities which have made them prosperous, eschewing their proneness to extravagance in moralisms, and take that high position which is clearly marked out for us by the finger of Providence, in our climate, geographical position, our institutions, and the brave and manly character of our people.

And this leads us to an interesting inquiry—Why is it that the North has so far outstripped the South in commerce, the growth of its cities, internal développement, and the arts of living? A false philosophy and a false philanthropy at once point to our slave institution, and say, "Behold the barrier to your advancement in the curse of African bondage!" The bigot who utters this cant is blind to the fact which historical experience has graven upon the tablets of time. Slavery, so far from being the cause of our retardation, is the nursing mother of the prosperity of the North. It is the productions of slave labor that furnish the pabulum of its commerce—it is sugar, cotton, and rice that freight its ships, and supply the capital and credit on which its vast foreign commerce is built. Slavery is the back-bone of the Northern commercial as it is of the British manufacturing system; and it is a question of doubt to-day, whether immediate emancipation would entail more of devastation and ruin on the States of the South, than on those of Old and New England. With two thousand miles of seacoast, we own hardly a ship, and are destitute of a commercial marine. Yet we have all the aptitude of genius and geographical position for commerce that the North has. Deprive us of our system of labor—the best organized, the most humane and efficient, that the world has ever seen—and what is to prevent us from launching our energies in the new direction of the ocean? What is to prevent us from competing with them in the manufacturing arts? We have waterfalls tumbling from a thousand hills in exhaustless motive power—our fuel for steam is superabundant. Why, then, do we depend upon our Northern brethren for every article of industrial manufacture? Why do they spin the very clothes that we wear, out of the produce of our fields? Why do we look to them for every hat, shoe, saddle, blanket, carriage, and even down to the humble horn combs, buttons, and lucifer matches, that we require? The answer is ready and simple, and is itself an eloquent vindication of the splendid

success of our system of slave labor, and an eulogium on the glorious soil and climate on which a bountiful Providence has cast our happy lot. It is that our labor, almost without diversity of application, and devoted to agriculture alone, has enabled us, not only to accomplish the great civilization which we enjoy, but has enabled us, with the surplus, to bear a heavy proportion of the burdens of our common government, and yet make New-England rich by the millions we annually pay for her industry, her arts, her luxuries, the use of her ships, her railroads, her hotels, and her bracing summer climate. Why, does any one suppose we could have done all this and be solvent, without slavery? How prodigious the resources, how efficient and telling the labor, that could bear this splendid annual tribute!

Our soil and institutions, then, have made us rich and prosperous, without resorting to the multifarious pursuits and manifold avenues of wealth equally open to our people as to the Northern. The New-England man, born under a rigorous climate, and on an ungenerous soil, looks abroad upon the world for the means of subsistence, or is driven to draw hard upon his ingenuity and invention—hence the workshops in which every conceivable want of mankind, at home or abroad, is supplied. Hence he launches his boat from his stormy and ice-bound coast, and ploughs the deep in every clime in quest of gain—he harpoons the whale in the Pacific, catches cod and mackerel in the Atlantic, and here we have the germ of a commercial marine, and seamen of unrivalled skill and unequalled hardihood. With his ships, protected by beneficial navigation laws, he engrosses all of our carrying trade, at highly remunerative charges. He manages all our business for us, fiscal as well as industrious. He not only carries, but he ships our cotton, negotiates for its sale, and reaps the reward of that profitable transaction. What he cannot make himself, and we want, he imports for us from Europe, and from Asia, and from the uttermost parts of the earth, and after the article has gone through the mill of commercial manipulation, and paid all possible profits in a northern port of entry, it is sent out to us, and slavery planks down the money for it. Nay, more than this—not content with attending to so vast an amount of business for us at home and abroad, the Northern man brings his skill and his thrift, and his usefulness in our very midst, and obligingly occupies and fills the most profitable places and functions for the interchanges of our trade. Who is it that buys the bulk of your cotton, and sugar, and rice, in the Southern markets? The Northern man with Northern facilities. Do you want a civil engineer to project a road or canal? You send to the North for him. Do you want a locomotive and trains to equip your road? they come from the North. Nay, we import our very schoolmasters to teach our children—the primers and Bibles out of which they read—our

divines, our editors, lawyers and doctors, and a vast deal, too, of our politics.

These facts teach us some valuable lessons, which we have been very slow to profit by. They teach us our power in this Union—a lesson I would were well conned and learned, not for aggression, but for independence and protection. I would have my countrymen fully conscious of the strength and dignity of their position—for here, under the hand of God, resides that conservatism, its root deeply imbedded in our much reviled domestic institutions, which is to ballast this confederation in the mighty voyage of its future destiny.

As our soil, climate and labor system afford the aliment of national wealth, commerce and independence, so that firm, steady, intelligent and spirited character which belong to agricultural pursuits and a dominant race, supply the strong moral stamina to check the vagaries of an unbridled democracy and the ultrisms of a social system, wherein the struggle between labor and capital has often proved too strong for the restraining hand of law. Nature and position have assigned to us the guardianship of the Constitution of our fathers; and while defending those principles of constitutional construction, which we are accustomed to regard as the bulwarks of our peculiar institutions, we are defending the casket in which reposes the liberties of all the States. And in this connection, slavery has been the conserving element of the Republic. Where now should we have been?—how far should we have transcended the landmarks of the Constitution, broken down its barriers, and let in the flood-gates of majority corruption, majority interpretation, and been subjected to the unspeakable tyranny of majority rule, but for the statesmen whom the South has stationed at the capitol of the country, to combat innovation, to confront the Vandals thundering at its gates, to kindle the beacons of warning to the public mind, and to hold up the Constitution as it is—the bond of Union, the written law of the confederation—the compact by which we are alone bound? But for these men, and the impression they have been able to make upon the government, the seventy years of Federal existence would have gone far to sweep away every vestige of State lines; the idea of State sovereignty would have lived only in history, and this government would have become an oligarchy in numbers, in which the will of the majority for the hour would have been the supreme law, unrestrained by Constitution, laws or precedents. This is a lofty trust, my Southern countrymen, and one we cannot faithfully discharge, unless we learn justly to appreciate the dignity and importance of our position in the Union. If we allow the North to master us, we cannot influence, guide, or restrain the North for the common good. We cannot teach our masters, but we may

counsel with and influence our equals. It is then a sacred duty, alike due to ourselves and our common country, to assert and maintain, with unwavering firmness, the great fundamental doctrine of the rights of the separate States, and never to yield a principle or a right, born anterior to the Federal Government and baptized by the Constitution, to the terrors inspired by the gaunt spectres and conjured phantoms of Disunion. There is a spell to exorcise these convenient ghosts. It is contained in this truth—that the true friend of the Union guards the foundations upon which it alone securely rests; and he who runs before to assault the temple of our political adoration, is not more guilty of disloyalty to it, than he who refuses to defend it when assailed.

This political digression must be pardoned to the behests of my subject. I reject, *in toto*, the theory that makes politics *taboo*, except in the newspaper or the forum. I draw a broad line of distinction between politics and partyism, and while the latter should be scrupulously restricted to its own domain, the former must always claim respect and attention as the great duty and study of a people who boast of self-government. And surely the past history of this confederacy, the shocks it has encountered when rocking in the throes of political battle, the perils which loom up in menacing magnitude in the future, are well calculated to instruct every good man and patriotic citizen in the importance of the appreciation and study of those deep, broad, and conservative principles, where it can only find a safe and permanent foundation. None will deny that the corner-stone of this foundation is the *equality* of the States, and the South claims as its great and crowning gift to the well-being and integrity of the confederacy, its firm and steady maintenance of this principle.

I have said it was a false philosophy that indicated the servile institution as the cause of our lagging in the career of development. It is a false reason to conceal a grave and potent truth. Ladies and gentlemen, that truth is, that our government has been a harsh and unkind mother to the sister confederates of the South and West, while the North and East, including Virginia, have been the recipients of that enriching stream of expenditure which has for forty years flowed in almost untold millions from the public treasury. The plain and unvarnished story of the sources of revenue and of the disbursements of this government would, to an impartial auditor, be counted incredible—first, in the enormity of its injustice; and second, in the amazing apathy and patience with which it has been submitted to by a people yet untamed by the yoke of oppression. Time and space forbid even an outline etching of this picture of injustice. I must content myself with a rapid glance at a single item in this vast ac-

count, and I take that most germane to my subject—the maritime interests of the South, and West. A glance at the map will exhibit the immense importance of proper military defences in the Gulf of Mexico for the protection of the vast commerce which flows through it from the great West down the Mississippi, and from the rivers that drain the cotton-growing States on its waters. The gifted Lieut. Maury has christened the Gulf of Mexico the American Mediterranean. Like its prototype in the old world, it has but one outlet, and this is afforded by the Gulf Stream, which pours through the Straits of Florida, between the Islands of Cuba and the Bahamas on one side, and the Peninsula of Florida on the other. The natural currents and trade winds have effectually barred up the exit through the channel of Yucatan into the Caribbean Sea, and thence out through the Mona passage to the ocean. These trade winds, interrupted by occasional rude and fitful northers, prevail the year round, between the parallels of 8° and 28° north, and the currents flowing in from the Caribbean to supply the waste of the Gulf Stream are so well known to navigators, that vessels not only from Galveston, and other ports of the Gulf bound to Europe, pass round to the Atlantic through the Florida Straits, but even ships for Jamaica and the Spanish Main, instead of steering eastward, find it more expeditious to take the currents and winds of the Yucatan channel, and pass to sea through the Florida Straits. These straits are one hundred and fifty miles in length, with an average breadth of about fifty miles. And along this passage a ship has to drive in the face of head winds, often for days. This narrow pass is the only outlet, then, for the commerce of the South and West, and these facts have caused the remark by military men, that the mouth of the Mississippi was really at these straits, and not at the Balize. And what has the government done for the protection of the argosies of untold value, which the grain, the pork, the oil, the minerals of the great West, and the cotton and sugar of the Gulf States of the South, annually send through this channel? I have shown that nature has locked up the Southern outlet; but man holds the key. The flag of Great Britain flies, and her guns frown along the navigator's track in that direction. She holds fortified positions in the Peninsula of Yucatan, and on the Musquito shore; in the islands of Trinidad, Barbadoes, Antigua, and Jamaica, and on the main, below the Orinoco; and away off in the ocean, the same firm hand holds the Bermudas. And if we look to the Bahamas and the hundred isles that dot the sea to the north and east of Cuba, we find that the same power holds every rock and shoal where a sea-bird can light, where a ship may find anchorage, or a turret-crowned battlement be erected. In short, Great Britain commands the single outlet to the Gulf of Mexico, as she does to the Mediterranean

sea, with this difference, that while a few hours of successful sailing at the Straits of Gibraltar clears the merchant ship to the open sea, the long passage of the Florida Straits places the American navigator for days together at the mercy of her cruisers. Now common sense and tyro statesmanship teach at once that these straits should be protected by strong military defences, and a strong fleet belonging permanently to the Gulf. Gen. Jackson, when elected to the presidency, and who with a military eye had looked out from New-Orleans upon the vast trade of which the Gulf was to be the theatre, was so deeply impressed with the importance of protecting the Straits of Florida in peace, and commanding them in war, that he declared to a friend that the three objects he had most at heart were, to pay off the national debt, fortify the Dry Tortugas, and break down the United States Bank. Two of these he accomplished, but the time-hardened system of spending all the public money in the North and East was too powerful to be subdued, even by his iron will. One of the first acts of his administration was to order a survey of these islands, an order executed in 1829 by Captain Tatnall of the Navy. The report of this survey continued to lie for years among the files of rubbish in the archives of the government. It exhibited a splendid harbor in the centre of the whole group of keys and reefs, with three entrances from seaward, with water sufficient for the largest vessels, the whole forming a natural dock, walled in by the keys and flats, easy of access and egress, and capable of holding the greater part of the American Navy.

Now, what has the government done for the protection of a strait through which two-thirds of the commerce of the Union finds its only outlet? Let the history of the navy answer. The American Navy dates its real birth from 1812. In 1797, the frigates *Constitution* and *United States*, and two or three others, were built. But neither government nor people regarded them in any other light than as lawful prizes of the first British cruiser they should encounter. It is a familiar fact of our history that when the war broke out, it was the serious policy of the government to dismantle and keep them in port, out of harm's way. Pending these discussions, the *Constitution* stole off to sea, and in a few days fell in with, and to the universal astonishment captured, a British frigate of her own class. The American Navy was that day born in the thunders of the *Constitution's* guns, and the flash of this earliest achievement rolled and glittered through the new era of American prowess on the ocean. The transplanted Englishman had cast his shell. The descendants of King John's barons had added a new leaf to the grand old parchment of *Magna Charta*; the child had taught the parent the inauguration of "Free trade and sailors' rights," as

well as of free thought and political rights. The navy was straightway taken to the popular heart. Keels of ships of the line and frigates were immediately laid down, and the government commenced that system of expenditure which has ever since been annually made. There has been expended on the navy, from the foundation of the government, two hundred millions of dollars. The disbursement of large sums of public money produces a most happy effect upon the communities enjoying it. It gives occupation and food to the needy, stimulates industry, and enlarges prosperity. How much of these vast appropriations have been expended at the South and West? Literally nothing. While onerously taxed by partial legislation, and constantly paying tribute at the federal toll-gate in duties for revenue, and at the Northern workshops in duties for protection, the vast sums collected are still expended at the North, thus cumulating the advantages already derived from partial laws. The fruits of protection and the monopoly of expenditure are both garnered at the North and East, and people are amazed at the prosperity of the North and East, and contemptuous of the slow pace of the South. From Virginia to the North, the entire advantages of government disbursements for naval purposes have been monopolized for forty years. There all the navy-yards are to be found; all the ships are built, provisioned, manned, and after a cruise, paid off. The South and West have been as alien to all the benefits of these fructifying disbursements, as if they had no voice in the councils of the nation, and no interest in them. From Norfolk, Virginia, to Passamaquoddy, in Maine, a distance of seven hundred miles, there are six well-appointed navy-yards. From Norfolk to the Sabine, a distance of two thousand miles, the first dollar has never been expended in the building of a ship for the navy. Indeed, the only ship ever moulded at the South for the navy was a beautiful corvette of war, built by the patriotic ladies of Charleston, South Carolina, and presented by them to the nation—a beautiful and chivalrous compliment from the noble matrons and fair daughters of the Palmetto State to our gallant navy. Besides this, not a belaying pin or a scupper nail has been manufactured by government order at the South or West. Pensacola is called a navy-yard, to be sure. But it is only by *complaisance*. We have never heard of repairing, much less the moulding, a ship there. Indeed, we have the authority of an experienced naval officer for saying that disabled revenue cutters have been sent hence to private ship-yards in Charleston to be calked; and if a larger vessel of the West India squadron requires repairs ever so slight, even to brushing the barnacles from her bottom, she must go from fifteen hundred to two thousand miles North to have it done. It is a truth which would be farcical, if its import

were not so serious, that the West India squadron is almost a *foreign* squadron to the Gulf. Built, manned, and provisioned at the North, it is sent out here for a cruise; it drops into Pensacola to get fresh water and fresh grub, and then goes *home*, where it is paid off and dismantled until another cruise is ordered. Now of what value would such a navy be to the commerce of the Gulf in case of war? If a vessel is damaged in an action, she has to go two thousand miles to get repaired. With British cruisers within striking distance from their naval depots and magazines, and American ships fifteen hundred miles from theirs, how unequal would be the contest, and how easy to perceive that the vast commerce of the Southwestern States would be at the mercy of a British squadron blockading the Florida Straits, and that the population of the Gulf might be again driven to their cotton bags for defence!

Now why this partiality and injustice? Why is it that from Norfolk up *North*, the coast is fortified at the rate of a gun for every three hundred yards, while from Norfolk, South, going no further than the Sabine, there is but a gun for every three thousand yards? Why is it that more money has been expended in fortifying and protecting the insignificant commercial point of Norfolk than in all the Gulf ports and coasts put together? Millions have been expended on the Delaware Breakwater simply to give a harbor of refuge to ships in bad weather, while the mud bars at the Balize have been left for years to hold fast the great fleets of merchant ships necessary to the trade of that port. The city of Mobile has lately exhibited to the government that its commerce is taxed a half million a year by obstructions, removable at the cost of the annual tax; and our representative in Congress has but just informed us that he has succeeded, by hard begging, in getting one hundred thousand dollars inserted in the appropriation bill for this object, but that it is extremely uncertain whether it will pass. And he repeats the advice, which we had occasion to endorse when examining this subject, that we had better put our shoulders to the wheel, and not call on that Hercules, who seems to feel an invincible repugnance to exerting his energies in a Southern climate.

No, ladies and gentlemen, let us be just to the enterprise and capabilities of our section of the country, and remember that while the North excels us in luxury, in the *savoir vivre*, in associated industry, in energy, and in superb cities, that Northern enterprise has been powerfully stimulated by the outpourings of the overflowing treasury of the government, which, like the waters of the Nile, have enriched and densely populated the region subject to the fertilizing process. And then ask yourselves, in language which we borrow for the occasion—"Suppose that, for the next forty years, Federal legislation should be as partial to

this Gulf coast, as for the last forty years it has been to that of the North—that the shores of the Gulf should be strengthened with forts, and studded with castles, at the rate of eleven thousand dollars a mile—that national dock-yards should be planted among them and the Mississippi to match those at the North—that all of our ships of war should be built and launched, equipped and repaired here—that here their crews should be provisioned and clothed; paid off and discharged; that all the public rope-walks, the timber-sheds, the workshops and ship-houses; the magnificent hospitals and naval asylums of the North shall be transplanted here; that the whole navy shall be supplied with its every want at the South, as it is now at the North; that the two hundred millions of moneys expended there upon it, should, in turn, be lavished upon it through the industry of the South; and, *nomine mutato*—let us suppose that the untold millions which have been drawn from the South, to foster and protect and reward the labor of the North, should be given back to this region as a bounty on its cotton, its corn, and its oil; suppose, we say, that the Gulf States should be left in the uninterrupted enjoyment of all these advantages for forty years to come, what would be the condition and appearance of the country? The whole land, from the Calcasieu to the Sarrybel, would present one vast extent of park and lawn; a succession of field, grove, and garden, for which Ceres and her nymphs might forsake their haunts; Pan, Faunus, and the whole train of Sylvan deities, their orgies, there to dwell and make glad the heart of man. With such protection the Gulf borders would beggar description, and vie with the most gorgeous scenes of fable and romance."

The South possesses within herself all the elements of complete commercial independence and empire. She possesses a staple produced by the labor of the muscles of men, defiant of the malaria and the fever-breeding heat to the white constitution. Out of the products of her labor four millions of the population of England gain their subsistence, in tending the engines, spindles, and looms which convert them into fabrics to clothe both civilized and barbaric man. She is content to grow rich in the process of production. But what is to prevent her hill-tops from smoking with the wealth-creating furnace; her valleys from resounding with the busy hum of the cotton-spindle, mingling with the purlings of her clear blue streams? All this is at her command, and she foregoes it in the very affluence of her resources. She yields it with scarce a struggle to people harder pressed to draw upon their skill and ingenuity for the means of subsistence. And because we have not monopolized the manufacture, as we have done the production of cotton; because we have no factories for the elaboration of those tens of thousands

of fabrics which enter into the wants of man ; because we have no Birmingham, no Manchester, no Sheffield, no Leeds, no Lowell, no Lynn, we are accused of a want of enterprise. Enterprise is the offspring of necessity, and our opulent agriculture is the bountiful nursing-mother that has kept necessity and gaunt want far from our doors. If raw cotton could be produced at ten cents the pound in Old or New England, do you suppose that we should be taunted with the vast establishments of labor and industry which have built up the flourishing manufacturing cities which I have mentioned ? So long as growing cotton is more profitable than spinning cotton, and so long as ploughing the earth is more congenial than ploughing the ocean, the Southern people must prefer the agricultural to the manufacturing and commercial life. At the same time, it is very easy to see how diversity of pursuits would aid the growth and prosperity of the South. But this is a good that will come with time. Increasing population will require a wider range of pursuits, and it is happy for us, that with the demand, the accesses to an infinite variety of occupations are open to reward the ingenuity and toil of our people.

It must be admitted that the people of the North are in advance of those of the South in public spirit and enterprise, and in all those physical achievements to which associated labor and capital are essential. The South, on the other hand, claims equality, if not precedence, in the republic of morals and intellect, in freedom from crime, in freedom from pauperism, and from that most fearful of God's judgments on man, and the immediate fruit of pauperism and crime—*insanity*. And here, a few figures may serve both to surprise and assure the doubting Southern man. They are from the United States Census, and show that—

The population of Massachusetts is.....	993,399
The population of Tennessee is.....	1,092,625
Tennessee excess of inhabitants.....	99,226

PAUPERISM.

Massachusetts has.....	5,549 paupers.
Tennessee.....	591 "
Excess in Massachusetts.....	4,958

Massachusetts, with 99,226 inhabitants less than Tennessee, has over eight times as many paupers.

INSANE.

Massachusetts.....	1,647
Tennessee.....	478
Excess of Massachusetts.....	1,169

Thus this State, that boasts of its moral and religious attain-

ments, its exemption from slavery and the supposed evils attendant upon it, has three times and a half the amount of insanity that exists in Tennessee.

CHURCHES :—Massachusetts 1,435—1 to every 695 persons.

Tennessee 1,039—1 to every 517 persons.

Kentucky has a population, including her slaves, of 952,405 ; Connecticut, including her paupers, 375,791. Kentucky has, as you will perceive, nearly three times the population of Connecticut.

PAUPERISM.—Connecticut 1,744—or one to every 253 inhabitants. Kentucky 777.

Kentucky, with three times the population, has less than half the number of paupers, or only one to every 380 inhabitants.

INSANE.—Connecticut 562, or one to every 502 inhabitants.

Kentucky 506, or not 1 to every 1,937 inhabitants.

CHURCHES.—Connecticut 719, or 1 to every 510 inhabitants.

Kentucky 1,018, or 1 to every 540 inhabitants, including her slaves.

The superior development of the North, then, has a very easy solution. The necessities of geographical position, soil, and climate demanding extraordinary enterprise and energy—that enterprise taking, naturally, the enriching direction of commerce, and having possession and control of the purse-strings of the government, while Southern people were contented with its honors—their whole system of prosperity has been swollen by the vast stream of treasure which the government coffers have poured out upon it. Before the Revolution, the export and import business of the South exceeded that of the North. It is now entirely destroyed. The great Northern cities have swallowed it up. We have indicated the reason :—the growing importance of the cotton-planting interest, monopolizing the capital and labor of the South, the effect of the partial tariffs of 1816, 1824, 1828 and 1842, and the important one of the monopoly of government expenditures at the North. But the important question with us is, What is the *remedy* for this evil? How can we break the chain of commercial thralldom that binds us to New-York? How dissolve the spell which causes every foot of railroad, and every yard of canal, built at the South and West, to extend the area of the power and influence of that city, and bind us more securely in her bonds? The immense commercial resources of the South and West are among the surprising wonders of the world. Throwing out the more than Egyptian cereal productions of the Great West, if you will look at your statistics you will find that full three-fourths of the raw material, the product of slave labor, consumed by the manufactories of the world, is furnished from the South ; and that negro labor is, in fact, the basis of the commerce of the world. Various modes of remedy have been proposed, but few tried. But a better time, I hope

and believe, is dawning upon us. The Southern people have not been altogether heedless pupils, and have learned something from the examples of thrift and acumen set us by our Northern brethren.

The Southwestern Commercial Convention, which has just closed its third annual session, gives token of awakening consciousness of the possible power, but real commercial dependence, of our situation. To encourage direct trade, some have proposed legislative interposition by the Southern States, in the shape of an excise tax, levied upon all foreign goods imported into any Northern port, and brought into these States for sale. Such a tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 per cent., it is contended, would force the foreign trade from the crooked channel by way of New-York, to the direct one from Europe to the Southern ports. In 1832, South Carolina passed an act, not of taxation, but of relief, by which goods imported in vessels owned in South Carolina should be exempt from State taxation upon their sale by the original importer. This act operated as a check to the unnatural and round-about current of trade, by giving to the Charleston importing merchant an exemption from the local burdens (at the expense of the State Treasury) which those must bear who do not import in vessels owned by that State. But the principal battle is to be fought in the field of personal energy and exertion. We must learn to do for ourselves what we have so long permitted the North to do for us. We must diversify our labor. We must do something else besides growing cotton, and educate our children to other employments than planting, physic, divinity, and law. We must open to them the way of scientific and mechanic pursuits, train them to be engineers, constructors, artificers in wood and iron, to build ships and sail them, and to the counting-house, where, with the aid of liberal education and enlarged views, they may look out upon the commercial map of the world, and become merchants in the noble and lofty sense of that word. And while we are so training our sons, their fathers should be opening and laying down those highways of commerce, and building up those industrial establishments, which are to be the engines of the future glory, independence, and prosperity of their country.

If we were to search the South over, we could not find a more apt illustration of the wants and the short comings of the South than in the history and condition of the City of Mobile. Magnificently situated at the embouchure of noble rivers, draining a large part of one and a considerable portion of another rich productive State—with a back country where nature has deposited with lavish hands all the elements of commercial independence and greatness with the wide blue Gulf at our doors, inviting to energy, enterprise, and competition in the foreign trade of the

world;—with all these advantages, what is Mobile but a commercial outpost of New-York? With barely a thousand inhabitants for each million of its exports—without one of those improvements which result from an enlarged foreign commerce—our merchants the mere agents of Northern capitalists, and intent only on the calculation how much of commissions they can obtain thence, and how long it will take to get the productions and importations of New-York into their stores—with no trade but the coasting trade, and that carried on in Northern vessels, without a ship in foreign trade owned here, with but two sea-going steamers regularly plying to this port—Mobile is but a ohrysalis of commerce. She is halting, limping, and stumbling in the mazes of commercial despondence and dread doubt of her future fate. She stands trembling at the portals of a grand destiny which she has not the courage to enter, and paralyzed by the coward fear that the splendid columns and gilded domes, the sapphire pavements and rubied windows of the temple of commercial grandeur, are not for her enjoyment and realization. She is literally starving in the midst of prospective plenty, and suffering the pangs of the fabled Tantalus, with want gnawing at his vitals, while luscious banquets flitted before his eyes and eluded his eager grasp. A vast trade with Texas lies in embryo, awaiting the talismanic and life-giving touch of sagacious enterprise. Yet not a steamer and hardly a sail vessel regularly garners to our merchant storehouses the fruits of wealth that are there ripe for plucking. It is true that there is some movement here—some talk of new and important enterprises—and if sound views and right feeling would have supplied the offices of capital in opening up to Mobile new channels of commerce and wealth, doubtless this would even now be a very considerable city. But words and paper resolves are not the Genii of modern improvement. The Arabian Nights plan of building palaces in a night has gone out of vogue, while the palm of victory in the industrial race of this vast age is only to be won by the persevering energies of mind, capital, and labor—the bone and muscle of man's moral and intellectual as well as of his physical energies. The force of Priam's javelin on the buckler of Pyrrhus will not accomplish the victorious consummation of objects worthy of the highest ambition of our men of wealth, of mind, and of enterprise. It was not so that our heroic English ancestors, whose deeds are recorded in the prose epic of Richard Hakluyt, ploughed and fought their way and worked out the commercial grandeur of their country. With loyal hearts beating in their bosoms, they scored with their keels furrows around the globe, graved the channels and then paved them with their bones, through which the commerce of England was to flow out

through all the world, and received the homage of barbarians at the antipodes in the name of their Virgin Queen.

I trust these thoughts and views may not be considered out of place in this hall, consecrated to literature and science. The groves of Academus are the sequences and accompaniments of material development. The edifice of civilization, built by combined labor, skill, and capital, of granite and marble, is crowned and illuminated with the deathless contributions of scholarship, genius, and art. The woodman's axe and the crack of his rifle are first heard—the *avant courriers* of civilization—then follow in succession the cultured fields, the rising town, the prosperous and commercial city—all pioneers for the benignant sisters, three, who come hand in hand, clothed in white and radiant in heavenly beauty—KNOWLEDGE, CIVILIZATION, RELIGION. My proposition is, that if you would build up your literary society, you must first build up your city commercially. Erudition is the cap-sheaf of civilization. It is not the gift of infant nations and half-developed regions.

In the evolution of the commercial and physical development of the Southwest, the Press has an important part to perform. How noble the influence that belongs to the conductor of a Press who sways it only for his country's good—who can measure the perilous mazes of that untrodden path, where the mere partyist never dares to enter! With undisguised freedom and boldness of pen, to please the brave, astonish the weak, and condemn the guilty—to write to be believed—to utter and be trusted, and all one's writings and utterings going to the convictions of the public mind, panoplied in that moral power with which the lofty intents and unquestioned integrity of purpose invest them. With no suspicion of the palm-itching hand, no slimy taint of the crouching reptile of sycophancy, no sentimental fancies to cloud the views and dwarf the stature of sound common sense, and no "bending of the crooked hinges of the knee that thrift may follow fawning"—to stand between one's clean breast and the undoubting confidence of his readers—to be able with one hand to wield the universal armory of truth and with the other to smite its enemies—*debellare superbos, parcere subjectos*—this is the imperial prerogative of a free and honest Press. And while the Southern editor, in view of the mighty work before him of shaping and training the public mind to the vast achievements that invite its energies, might modestly doubt his individual strength of moral pinion to bear him aloft in this upper azure—where the eagle faces the sun undimmed by the earth's atmosphere, with unblinking eye—his motto may at least be, *itur ad astra*, and he may feel conscious of the independence to conceive, and the spirit to dare, the lofty career.

ART. IV.—INFLUENCE OF THE MECHANIC ARTS ON THE HUMAN RACE.*

THE Mechanic Arts, which are a subdivision of art, are themselves liable to subdivisions, which may be compared to the infinite steps of that ladder Jacob saw descending from heaven to earth. Those steps, however immense was the difference between the highest and the lowest, were indissolubly bound together by the same frame, and were equally trod by the angels. Thus does man, through the various gradations of the Mechanic Arts, proceed to comfort, happiness, and a higher state of intelligence. Hence, in assigning to every one his rank in the production, transformation, and distribution of such material objects as are suited to the satisfaction of the wants of our race, we first meet, as was said in our preceding article, the hunter, the fisherman, the shepherd, the husbandman; and, ascending into a higher region, we find the artisan, manufacturer, and engineer, whilst, turning to the sea, our eyes rest on the shipwright and sailor. To designate by their proper denominations all the artisans who are the fruitful progeny of the Mechanic Arts, would be to attempt a nomenclature almost without an end. The sons of industry count their numbers by legions; and we shall content ourselves with observing that they may be divided into three great classes:—those who produce, those who transform, and those who distribute or carry. As to the materials on which they operate, they are contained in the boundless stores of vegetable, animal, and mineral wealth to be found over the surface or in the bosom of the earth. As to the tools with which they have to work, they are the physical and intellectual powers of our race. Thus the producer, after having brought out the primary materials, lays them in the lap of him who, with the assistance of manual, mechanical, or chemical agencies, transforms them into commodities for the market of the world, and who, in his turn, hands them over to the carrier, whose task is to investigate the best, the safest, and the most rapid means of transportation. Thus is made apparent the chain of affinity which links together those three great classes of operative industry, one single branch of which will illustrate the distinction to which we allude, and exemplify the prodigious variety and degree of physical and intellectual labor of which man is capable, in its application to one solitary material selected amidst the gorgeous profusion of those with which nature intends to stimulate our ambition.

Take, for instance, that apparently worthless and dull-looking metal, called iron. As soon as man had the ingenuity to make it subservient to his uses, to how many different occupations did

* Concluded from the last number.

it not give rise!—the perforation of the ground to the level of the ore, the erection of pumps for drainage, the contrivances of ventilation, the hoisting of the whole mining apparatus, the bellows, the blast furnaces, the forges, the cupolas, the formation of the requisite steam or water power, the construction of bridges, canals, railways, harbors, docks, cranes, &c., for transportation, and all the necessary devices to overcome the forces of inertia, gravity, and cohesion! But after the miner has extracted and sorted the ores, comes the engineer, who speeds to the smelting station, and delivers them to the iron master, who, in his sphere of operation, will, after having reduced them into cast-iron, run them into rough pigs or regular moulds, which, under the plastic application of mechanical and chemical agencies, are transformed into bar and plate iron of all sizes and shapes. The refining process still goes on, and the best iron bars are converted into steel by the cementation furnace, the forge, and the tilt hammer. We are next gratified with the production of tin plates, anchors, chain cables, files, nails, needles, wire, &c.—and many other ever-varying and fanciful or useful objects, in the hands of the founder, the cutter, the locksmith, the gratesmith, coachsmith, gunsmith, tinman, and other handicraftsmen who understand the manifold uses of this most valuable metal. Therefore, as is seen, by the joint application of the physical and intellectual labor of man, this hard and unwieldy substance can be melted into a liquid and cast into any mould or form. It can be forged into chains that will bind Prometheus on his rock; it can be drawn out into the light but firm texture of the shirt of mail that will protect the warrior's breast, or into the gossamer gilt net that will keep captive the fairest silken tresses a lady's hair can boast. It will extend into plates or sheets; it will bend like the willow; it will soften into a cushion fit for the light slumber of childhood, and assume the elasticity of a spring to ease the motion of the invalid; it will harden itself into the metallic finger with which Franklin dared the shock of heaven's thunderbolt, and sharpen itself into the keen edge of the sword with which Washington secured the liberty of his country. It is the obedient slave that waits on all our wants, our desires, and even our caprices. It fertilizes the domain of agriculture, and is equally indispensable to all the arts and sciences. It becomes as delicate as gauze, as light as air, and floats on the ocean. If in the shape of the cannon and the bomb, it serves the angry passions of man; in the shape of a medicine it contributes to his health; and is so friendly to our race, that it is to be found in our blood, and constitutes a part of the elements which enter into our composition. For all these wonders, in connection with a single material supplied by nature, we are indebted to the Mechanic Arts. But in their application, even when thus confined solely to one object,

what a variety of occupations! What gradations in the calls made on the intellect and on physical labor! What a diversity of operations—many merely modifying the shape or form of matter—some changing its very texture and constitution—others consisting in multiform, capricious, and exclusively physical manipulations—some which demand the greatest and sublimest effort of the intellect—others which require none whatever. This applies to every branch of the *Mechanic Arts*. But, notwithstanding the diversity of their nature, they form a harmonious whole—a magnificent architectural structure, in which the vilest material is not without its utility, and is necessary to the general effect. Some of the rooms may be comparatively humble or small—more or less gilded and ornamented, and lighted up with less brilliancy—but they all belong to the same gorgeous edifice.

Let us here call attention to the fact, that one of the happiest influences of the *Mechanic Arts* is to compel man to the study of nature in the pursuit of the gratification of his wants, and that the study of nature leads to the knowledge of God, to the establishment of religion, and to all its beneficial consequences.

Among the effects of the *Mechanic Arts* we must also count the multiplication and extension of property, and, consequently, the enlargement of the basis of civilization.

Socrates is reported to have said, that "those who want the least, approach the nearest to the Gods, who want nothing." This saying does not seem to be worthy of him who was declared by the oracle of Delphi to be the wisest of mankind; for, were his sentiment correct, the savage would be the specimen of perfection among men and the nearest approach to the Deity. The *Mechanic Arts* have proved the falsity of this remark; for, by the progressive multiplication and gratification of the wants of man, they have led him, in the aggregate, to the enjoyment of such physical-comforts as he had never attained, and to a degree of intellectual cultivation which he had never possessed. Wants stimulate the intellect into action, and it is the enlargement of the mind, not the absence of the wants, which permits us to claim congeniality with the spiritual nature of our Creator.

It is astonishing what a length of time this enlargement of the mind required, in spite of the incessant stimulus of our increasing wants! How many centuries were to elapse before man should discover the elements of power which God had laid around him in so ostensible a manner! How interesting it would be to read line by line the history of his struggles, and to follow him step by step in his voyage of discovery, through the chaos of ignorance in which he was born, to that realm of regularity and light, where we see him possessing the knowledge of geometry—com-

prehending the laws of equilibrium and motion, the composition, decomposition, and application of forces, some too large for physical strength, others too delicate for human touch—enlarging old agencies, and creating new ones—studying the effects of air, cold, heat, water, elasticity, pressure—the interposition of substances—resistance—adhesion—and the effects of friction in its different relations with the nature and extent of surface, and its combinations of antagonistic position or affinity with bodies of different and of the same kinds! All this knowledge is now necessary to the Mechanic Arts, originally so simple, so rude, so despised, and apparently so unconnected with the intellect. Every sort of knowledge is now embraced by them—practical and theoretical—the geometry of the hands and the geometry of the brains—the geometry of the shop—and the geometry of the academy; for it is evident that he who, in the vast field of the Mechanic Arts, should not possess both, would only hop along on one leg, and proceed much slower and less safely than a competitor in whom the same deficiency did not exist.

In illustration of the preceding remarks, we do not hesitate to mention the laws of friction, and to say, that the most learned man, speculating upon them in the closet, if he had never witnessed their effects, would not come to any conclusions of practical utility, and that all his calculations, in their application, would result in a series of blunders. A lever is a very simple thing, and yet how infinite the calculations to which its action may give rise, and how complicated its direct, or indirect, and remote effects in their relation to the things on which it may bear, and by which it may be felt! How much time, labor, and even genius have been wasted in the invention of wretched machines by individuals who imagined that levers, wheels, pulleys, and cables would work in their application to matter, exactly as it had been arranged by the speculations of theoretical learning! If we every day hear of so many failures attending the investigations of the men of science, it is because they are deficient in practical knowledge; because they have not exercised their hands as well as their brains; because, satisfied with taking a profile or front view of a machine, they have not studied its anatomy.

It requires both practice and theory to acquire a peculiar knowledge which is exceedingly valuable in the Mechanic Arts—the knowledge of those machines which will work well only on a large scale, and those which can operate only on a small one. But by what laws, and on the evidence of what facts, is this question to be solved? What are the absolute proportions beyond or within which a machine is defective? What is the exact medium? What is the true size of an excellent watch, of a perfect mill, of a ship combining all the qualifications of speed, strength, and duration? This is to be approximately determined

by the experimental geometry of the handicraftsman, assisted by the theoretical geometry of the mathematician. In the accomplishment of this desired end, they are like two chemical ingredients, which are respectively inert, but which derive power from their combination.

In what system of natural philosophy, or of metaphysics, was there ever displayed more intelligence, more sagacity, and a greater amount of logical deductions and inductions, than in the invention of those machines used to wiredraw gold, and in the operations of making lace, gauze, cloth, silk, and velvet, in all the variety of texture, color, gloss, and drawings in which they are brought to market? Can one imagine anything more beautiful, more delicate, and more singular, than the many complicated processes through which those results are obtained? Shall we take a more general survey of the marvellous productions of the industry of man, to show the necessity of education among those masses who are employed in the exercise of the Mechanic Arts? It is to that want of general education, to the absence of the combination of theoretical and practical knowledge, as well as to the causes already mentioned, that much of the slow progress of the Mechanic Arts must be attributed.

Those arts, however, as we must suppose, had arrived at a certain degree of improvement at the time when we hear of the construction of the tower of Babel—the confused multiplicity of language, the dissemination of the human race, and the deluge. From Noah to the siege of Troy it is difficult to ascertain the number of centuries which elapsed: but, at that epoch of the existence of mankind, the Mechanic Arts had not done more than creep along slowly in the native slime of ignorance which covered the earth. Even when Homer composed his poems, there is no appearance that writing was known. Kings and princes prepared their own victuals, and were nothing but crowned butchers and sceptred cooks; and their wives, daughters, and sisters, no better than royal washerwomen and seamstresses. They ate with their fingers in the most unsophisticated manner; they did not know the use of such things as spoons and forks, and ignored such conveniences of cleanliness as table-cloths and napkins. “They had no chimneys—no candles—no lamps. Torches are frequently mentioned by Homer, but lamps never.” When the King of kings wished to spend a social evening with those heroes with whose names we are so familiar, a vase was placed upon a tripod, and chipt-wood was burnt in it to give light. The ships which carried the Greeks to the far-famed walls of Troy were but uncouth specimens of nautical skill, and mariners could, in those days, hardly lose sight of land, without thinking they were doomed to destruction. Much time passed off before the dull brains of Vulcan contrived the lock and key.

The security of a bundle, the secrecy of a letter, had to depend altogether on the inextricable combination of involutions into which a rope or string was twisted ; but we know what became of the Gordian knot under the sword of Alexander. Sandals were the nearest approximation to shoes, and against the profane invasion of dust or mud the Divine ankles of Helena could not claim the protection of stockings ; warriors, whose memory is illustrious, rode their horses in the fashion well known to black urchins on our Southern plantations—without the convenient appendages of saddle and stirrups. Plutarch reports* that Gracchus caused stones to be erected along the highways leading from Rome, for the convenience of mounting a horse, because, even at that time, stirrups were unknown in the Eternal City, though an obvious invention ; and Cæsar himself, the master of the world, did not know the luxury of wearing linen.

We have the proof, however, that, from the siege of Troy to the greatest of human events—that which marked the Christian Era—some of the Mechanic Arts had reached perfection, and that many had been carried to a degree of improvement of which we have not, perhaps, a full and just conception. Of what they were we can judge by their productions—and those productions we can sum up in a few words—they were such cities as Nineveh, Babylon, Rome, and others. But another deluge ensued—not cataclysts of water—but of human devastation ; all the fountains of the great deep of barbarian sway were broken up, and the windows of wrath were opened ; and the rain of blood was upon the earth for ages. All the Arts were submerged ; many of the secrets of human industry were lost ; and civilization itself would have perished, if it had not taken refuge in the bosom of God's Church, which, like the ark of gopher wood, went upon the face of the deluge. Although what we possess of the remains of antiquity does not convey to us as much knowledge as we might desire of the state of the Mechanic Arts in those days, particularly in their separate branches, yet we know what they had done in the aggregate for the civilization of man and the increase of his race. Take for instance Attica, where, on the most barren and contracted of territories, measuring about 210 square miles, there lived a numerous population celebrated for its wealth, its wit, and its refinement. Allow us here to say, as a passing remark, that the history of the Mechanic Arts, from the earliest time of man's existence to the destruction of the Roman Empire, if it could be had, would be more useful and more interesting to us now, than all the other histories put together, with which our libraries are so abundantly furnished. But whatever was the state of improvement and refinement reached by the Mechanic

* Thomas Dick on the Improvement of Society.

Arts in the best days of antiquity, there are three discoveries to which they had not led :—the invention of printing—of making gunpowder—and the knowledge of the properties of the magnetic needle, which, by the social, political, and intellectual revolutions they have produced in the world, have been some of the most powerful causes of the advancement and promotion of the Mechanic Arts.

A ray of light having begun to penetrate the Cimmerian darkness which had overspread Europe, the Mechanic Arts strove to revive, like plants, which, brought out into the open air of which they had been deprived, turn their withered heads towards the sun. But in the republic of letters, all the sharpness and vigor of cultivated intellects were, by the force of habit, still confined to the pursuit of trifles ; and the glorious task of improving the condition of the human race, by ministering to its comforts and by the diffusion of knowledge, continued to be delayed. Those who undertook it, if anybody did so knowingly, were, as has been mentioned, despised as mechanics, or ran the risk of being burnt as magicians. Witness what happened to Faust, who was one of the three men considered as the inventors of printing.

Under the reign of Louis the Eleventh, in the year 1462, Faust carried to Paris a number of Bibles which he and his partners had printed, and passed them off as manuscripts—the art of printing not being then known in France. The sum usually obtained by the scribes varied from 500 to 600 crowns, and, at first, he sold for that high price his copies of the sacred book. But as few only could afford to buy at that rate, he afterwards lowered his pretensions to sixty crowns. The astonishment was universal, and no one could understand how those manuscripts, as they were thought to be, could be sold so cheap ; but when he reduced the price to thirty crowns, in order to extend the market, all Paris was thrown into commotion. How could the modicity of the sum asked remunerate for the labor ! Besides, was there not something passing strange in the uniformity of the copies ! Was it not beyond human execution ! Evidently some supernatural agency was at work. There was magic in the beautiful distinctness, symmetry, regularity, and similarity of those exquisitely ornamented leaves. The attention of the police was awakened, and the lodgings of the suspected sorcerer were searched—when, lo !—his crimes were proved beyond a doubt. There were found in his possession too many Bibles to admit the possibility of their being copies made by human hands. It was clear that the assistance of the powers of darkness had been invoked. There was but one puzzling obstacle in the way of solving this question : How could they have dared, and how could they have been permitted to meddle with the Bible, and to lay their blasted fingers on the book of salvation ? The

naked fact was there, however; it could not be denied; and what strengthened conviction was the circumstance of the red ink with which the copies were embellished, and which was said to be the very blood the magician had drawn out of his veins to seal his pact with the devil. It was therefore seriously adjudged that he was in league with the dreaded author of evil, and he was thrown into a dungeon, to abide his trial for witchcraft; and probably he would have fared no better than those who, in that age, were laboring under such accusations, if he had not, in self-defence, made known the secret of his invention. Hence the tradition of Faust and the devil, which has been so beautifully worked upon by the genius of Goethe. Such were the scenes which occurred and the feelings which prevailed, not yet four hundred years ago, in one of the most populous and most enlightened cities of Christendom. How wonderful has been, since that time, the march of the human intellect! and to what is it to be attributed, if not, in a great measure, to the Mechanic Arts, and to their progressive improvements!

As long as the spirit of liberty was extinct in Europe, the Mechanic Arts seemed to slumber in the tomb in which it had been buried. "The houses of the poor, in England," says Hollingshed, the historian, "were wattled and plastered with clay; and all the furniture and utensils were of wood! the people slept on straw pallets, with a log of wood for a pillow!" Henry the Second, of France, at the marriage of his sister with the Duke of Savoy, in 1559, wore the first silk stockings that were made in that kingdom; and a pair of black silk knit stockings was thought to be a present sufficiently royal to be offered to Queen Elizabeth, in the third year of her reign. The bridge Notre Dame over the Seine in Paris having fallen down in 1496, there was not a man in France who could undertake to rebuild it of stone. Even so late as the 12th century, very few houses were furnished with glass windows, which were not then considered as the necessary appendage of every building, but as the introduction of a very great luxury. Edward the Third sent to three Dutch clockmakers a cajoling invitation to settle in England, and to exercise in his kingdom an art with which none of his subjects were acquainted. "The progress of agriculture had been so uncommonly slow," observes Kames in his History of Man, "that, in the former part of the reign of Henry the Eighth, there did not grow in England cabbage, carrot, turnip, or other edible root; and it has been noted that even Queen Catherine herself could not command a salad for dinner, till the King brought over a gardener from the Netherlands. It was in the year 1563 that knives were made in England, and pocket watches were introduced in that country only in 1577. Three years later, coaches were made known; before which time the

imperial and haughty Elizabeth, on public occasions, rode behind her chamberlain. There was no saw-mill before 1333; paper was made no earlier than the 14th century. The art of reading made a very slow progress—so much so, that, to give it encouragement, in England, the capital punishment for murder was remitted, if the criminal could but read, which, in law language, is termed benefit of clergy. One would imagine that the art must have made a very rapid progress when so greatly favored; but there is a signal proof of the contrary; for so small an edition of the Bible as six hundred copies, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, was not wholly sold off in three years." What a state of ignorance! What an intellectual apathy! What an indifference to moral improvement! And this was in the age of the chivalrous Francis the First of France, of the politic Charles the Fifth of Spain—in that age which is celebrated in history as having been the era of the revival of the Arts, and especially of Literature!

This is a proof that the illiterate condition of a country is a sure indication of the corresponding state of the Mechanic Arts. But their progress is in proportion to every fortunate change of circumstances which rouses the people out of their intellectual torpor. When the sense of former abasement gives way to the proud consciousness of the possession of dignity and prosperity, a vigorous elasticity is imparted to the mind, which is communicated to every pursuit. It so happened in Greece, after all the brilliant events which dotted her territory with those flourishing republics of which the lingering rays of glory still illuminate the pages of history. So it was with Athens, when her star culminated to its meridian under Pericles. The enlargement or contraction of the human mind, the progress, the immobility, or the retrograde march of the Arts, and the extent of freedom or servitude resulting from political institutions, are so many circumstances which act and react on one another, as it were by the ebb and flow of a magnetic current. Liberty develops the mind—the mind, as it expands, carries forward the Arts—and the Arts, by the light they diffuse, have a tendency to promote or maintain liberal institutions. In a state of enlightened prosperity, a national spirit is created, works of genius or taste are composed, useful discoveries are made in every Art and Science, the fire of emulation spreads from one breast to another, until it gathers up into a general illumination. Thus when the bloody Octavius became the clement Augustus, when, with the irresistible power of a victorious hand, he had mastered or destroyed all the elements of civil war which had desolated Rome, and when he had restored peace, industry, and all the other blessings so necessary to the welfare of society, his reign became an auspicious era for the Arts; and let it be remarked that, under Au-

gustus, if the government was a despotism, that despotism was a hidden one, preserving the forms of liberty. When it stalked abroad under his successors, in all its naked hideousness, the Arts sickened and perished. They revived with the free republics of Italy—the free cities of Germany—the free cities of Flanders, which preserved so long their privileges and immunities in spite of the jealous enmity of the Dukes of Burgundy, and they struck deep roots among the Dutch, when those victims of oppression asserted those rights which brought them power, wealth, and fame. The splendid and enlightened despotism of Louis the Fourteenth, or at least of some of his ministers, produced, to some extent, the blessings of liberty, and paved the way to the progress of Literature and to the improvement of the Mechanic Arts, which put in motion the hitherto stagnating waters of the public mind, and spread a desire of amelioration among those classes who were soon to shiver into atoms the hereditary throne of his race.

Improvements of every kind in England were promoted by the restoration of Charles the Second, weak, foolish, and corrupt as he was, because the people were exhilarated by the impression that the wounds of the country were to be healed forever. But it is only from the day on which was accomplished that glorious revolution which put William and Mary on the throne, that the liberties of England may be said to have been firmly established, and that ample scope was given to the development of all the pursuits of industry. Ever since that time the spirit of liberty has been gaining ground, and with it the Mechanic Arts, even under the worst forms of government; and particularly since the achievement of our independence, and since the French Revolution, they have been making more progress than they ever did since the beginning of the world; so much so, that now an improvement in the Mechanic Arts is frequently a revolution throughout the world. What effect would the new production of a painting as beautiful as any of Titian's, or of a statue equal to any of the prodigies of sculpture which came out of the hands of Praxiteles, have on the happiness of mankind? But the destinies of the humblest barbarian in the most remote part of the earth may be effected in less than a few months, by a discovery made in the Mechanic Arts by a Fulton, a Morse, or some other benefactor of the human race.

The march of industry has been such that the tool of the Mechanic may be said to be now the sceptre of the world, and that the superiority of a nation over all others would be surely the result of its ascertained superiority in the Mechanic Arts. It is also a fact worthy of notice, that the Liberal and Fine Arts can arrive at the greatest degree of improvement in a country where the masses are enslaved and impoverished, but where

there exists a powerful and wealthy aristocracy : whilst, wherever the Mechanic Arts thrive to a considerable degree, they are sure to gain for the people liberty and prosperity—at least some portion of it, or, at the worst, some exemption from oppression even under despotic governments. Another fact which must strike the philosophic observer is, that emulation, that great cause of exertion in man, does not exist in relation to the Fine Arts—for their productions can no longer be excelled ; but it is not so with regard to those of the Mechanic Arts, in which an improvement widens into other improvements, and seemingly as insignificant as a pebble, when thrown into their deep waters, produces circles enlarging into others to which no limits are to be assigned.

Thus those who pursue the Mechanic Arts ought to feel ennobled by the consciousness of their being engaged in works of such importance, that they are capable, in their results, of modifying the face of the world according to the will of the human mind. It is particularly the United States which may be said to be the destined home of the Mechanic Arts, and the seat of that power which they will ultimately extend all over the earth. The Patent Office at Washington shows the untiring zeal and the inventive genius of their votaries ; and it is as much to our excellence in the Mechanic Arts as to the beauty of our political institutions which have secured the development of those Arts, that we are indebted for all our territorial acquisitions : among which California and New Mexico may be compared to two magnificent portals which have lately opened their wide gates to the introduction of American industry, American enterprise, and American institutions over our whole continent, from the Rio Grande to the Pacific, and beyond its placid bosom, to those Eastern regions of wealth, on the threshold of which we have already set the foot which never goes back.

Napoleon the Great called the English a nation of shopkeepers. He, no doubt, thought that we were a nation of mechanics ; and so exalted was his opinion of our skill and enterprise, that he once said that the day would come when we should cross the Atlantic in a sieve. We have done better ; we have traversed all the seas in floating palaces not appropriated merely to the luxurious ease of a few privileged nobles, but to the humble wants of the masses throughout the world, and carrying away with them, within their hearts of oak, the seeds of liberty intermixed with the seeds of the Mechanic Arts, to be sown broadcast over the surface of the globe, and to enrich even its most sterile parts with the growth of human comforts and happiness.

Another of the blessings of the Mechanic Arts is their having, by the increase of the objects of commerce, multiplied the bonds of union among the nations, introduced new relations and re-

moved prejudices, by almost annihilating the distance which separated them, and made peace so predominant an interest over the minor ones which are causes of division, that those nations are exposed to very few chances of collision. The construction of manufactures, railroads, canals, and other colossal works, have absorbed the funds that the carrying on of war would require, if waged by some of the great Powers of the earth, so that a hostile struggle among them would produce such a perturbation of the vital interests of mankind, that it would not be of long duration. The Mechanic Arts are the pillars which support the complicated fabric of modern society, and there is a spirit on the watch which will not easily allow the blind Sampson of war to shake them and to bury civilization under their ruins. Hence the present hesitation in the belligerent dispositions of Europe. The sword itself is made to think and reflect; it may fret in the scabbard, but before it leaps out, it is bound to consult the scythe, the plough, and the other engines of industry.

There are evils, however, to be apprehended from the excessive development of the Mechanic Arts, and from their exercising a sort of monopoly over the public mind. It is the "over-sharpening of the appetite for property, which," as it has been observed, "although a great blessing in its nature, degenerates into a great curse when it transgresses the bounds of moderation." This seldom happened when the plain necessities of life were the objects of exchange or barter, before money had become a medium of trade. But when money became the representative of every kind of property, it inflamed the covetousness which is innate in the human heart, and a sordid spirit tainted the cultivation of the Mechanic Arts. We have said that they had paved the way to the Fine Arts, inasmuch as the researches of pleasure are apt to succeed the pursuit of the conveniences of life. But when the Mechanic Arts are permitted to create too keen a feeling of cupidity in a people, the Fine Arts degenerate. Cupidity and intellect may invent a money-making machine, but will never be productive of those sublime inspirations of the soul which are necessary to the creation of a fine statue, a beautiful painting, or an epic poem such as the *Iliad*, the *Æneid*, or *Paradise Lost*. The Fine Arts scowl upon that country where there is no other criterion of the merit of labor than what it will bring in dollars and cents, and where a man, before he addicts himself to any pursuit, puts to himself this question—will it pay? In such a country, where "Mammon wins his way when seraphs might despair," the Fine Arts droop and languish, because, as the cant phrase runs, "they don't pay."

We have previously observed that, at the dawn of civiliza-

tion, the Mechanic Arts had been contemptuously abandoned to the slaves. On the other hand, it is a remarkable fact that their success may lead back to slavery, and that, if one of their blessings is emancipation and the diffusion of comforts, one of their evils may be servitude and famine, resulting from their overgrowth, and from their predominating over all the other purely moral, intellectual, and speculative pursuits of mankind. To be convinced that this is to be apprehended from their undue extension, from their usurpation of too large an interest in the consideration of society, and from their overexciting the appetite for wealth, one has only to look at the state of things existing in the manufacturing districts of certain communities, where nothing is to be seen but a vast agglomeration of abject poverty, vice, and despair—the mockery of free-will having no choice of action—starvation goading feebleness into labor, and the most energetic toil of the hand and the most painful sweat of the brow hardly relieving the first necessities of life. But the problem of cheap production is solved—an impetus is given to commerce—consumption takes a wider range—the capitalist draws enormous profits from his investments—the marked progress of the Mechanic Arts is quoted exultingly in official documents—and newspaper commendations are showered upon the prodigies accomplished by the national industry. But it is forgotten that bondage has been introduced in the land—a Shylock bondage—that which claims, not the ownership of the whole structure of a man's body—God forbid!—but merely the pound of flesh nearest the heart—that bondage secured by a contract in which want is the seller, speculation the purchaser, and cupidity the drawer and recorder of the title deed—that bondage—the worst of all—by which a man becomes the slave of another without becoming his property, and in whose preservation his master takes no interest, because their ties and connections are accidental and precarious, and because that master paid nothing for the miserable human tool whom he flings aside with careless contempt or frigid indifference, when worn out and unfit for further use.

If it is true that the Mechanic Arts have civilized man by stimulating his intellect, it must be admitted that they are apt to brutalize and stultify him when every moral and intellectual consideration is sacrificed to the perfection of material products and to the multiplication of physical comforts; and if they facilitate the increase of our race, they remind us that the principle of evil is never far from the principle of good, by giving rise to all those social infirmities which are the natural consequences of an excess of population. Thus, in countries thinly peopled, it is not uncommon to see the same man engaged in various arts or operations; and, as he cannot be equally expert in every one of them, he is often obliged to draw on his wits, and to supply his

want of manual skill or training by taxing his mind and straining his powers of invention; and, besides, he is not unfrequently called upon to ascertain the various relations that may exist between trades, professions, or occupations apparently dissimilar, and to find out the assistance which he may derive from that discovery. Under such circumstances the Mechanic Arts are a blessing, for they sharpen the intellect, and the labor which they impose on man is sufficiently remunerated to enable him to satisfy his wants. But, in populous countries, where the simplest art is split into parts—where, for instance, an incredible number of hands are employed in the single operation of making a needle—it is evident that this distribution of labor secures the rapidity, the cheapness, and the perfection of the production, but the wages of each operative are barely sufficient to enable him to keep up the breath of life in an emaciated and sickly bodily frame; and the mind, confining its attention to a single object, shrinks gradually into so contracted a space as to leave no room for thought or invention; and we may easily understand how a man of the most splendid intellect, who, for the sake of procuring scanty morsels of bread for himself and family, should consent for years to do nothing else than roll a pack of thread round his index, would turn out to be an idiot at the end of his probation. He who has not been thrown into contact with the operatives in manufacturing districts which are celebrated all over the world, and who has not witnessed with a sickening heart the last spark of human intellect flickering dimly in the dull sockets of their brains, has no conception of the curses entailed on the overgrowth of population and of the Mechanic Arts.

Those evils are to be obviated by proper regulations, by an enlightened legislation, and by a moral as well as an intellectual education. Not only is education to be generally diffused among the masses to correct or mitigate the evils I have described, and to help the improvements of the Mechanic Arts, but also because all political power seems to be centering in those who exercise those Arts; at least it is so with us. The great bulk of the people of the United States may be said to be composed of Mechanics and Artisans—and it must be remembered that here the people govern—and that, through the numberless channels of commerce, through the all-pervading action of the press, through the example of that democracy daily issuing from their bosom and travelling abroad, and through many other agencies, their influence is extending over the world. Hence the necessity of general education, not only for the development of industrial resources, and to facilitate the pursuits of wealth, but also for the purposes of government.

It is evident that if, in the middling and lower orders, a spirit of inquiry after knowledge were stirred up, it would lead to the

introduction of many more comforts, conveniences, and improvements conducive to general health and happiness; that it would shed a new lustre on the face of society; and that perhaps in fifty years from the present time, the world would be greatly more changed for the better than it had been for centuries. Let therefore as much knowledge as possible be imparted to the great masses of mankind. Let the conquests of the intellect be exhibited to them as the noblest; let them be persuaded that the foundation of libraries is as necessary as the institution of asylums for the blind, the sick, the orphan and the destitute; let them be encouraged to form themselves into associations for mutual improvement and scientific researches. By such means their attention would be directed to intellectual improvement, and a taste would be created for the investigations and studies which it requires. An ample field still remains open for useful discoveries, and it may be explored with equal advantage by the Mechanic as well as by the man of Science. "The exertion of the ordinary powers of intellect possessed by the mass of society," observes a philosophic writer, "is sufficient for the purpose of prosecuting scientific discoveries, and the more the number of scientific observers and experimenters is increased among the inferior ranks of society, the more extensively will interesting facts and analogies be ascertained, from which new and important principles of science may be deduced." The great book of nature is accessible to peasants and mechanics as well as princes and legislators. They have only to read it, and all that is necessary is that they should be taught how to do so. All knowledge is the result of the observation of facts and of the concentration of the faculties of the human mind upon them, to draw all the inferences, deductions, and inductions of which they are susceptible, by the process of ratiocination. Hence the necessity of education to enable every man, in his sphere, however humble it may be, to make the most of every fact which may strike his attention, by submitting it to the test of intellectual analysis. The crucible of a polished mind ought to be put within the reach of every mechanic, to give him the chance of extracting from the common dross of his every-day observations the pure ore of discovery and improvement; and, indeed, so far as discovery and improvement in the Arts may depend on accident or circumstance, the chances of the educated over the ignorant artificer are a thousand to one, and are also far superior to those of the mere speculative man of science who never engaged like him in practical operations, and who therefore cannot so readily perceive what may be useless, defective, or unfit in any of the methods which the brain may devise as applicable to the use or modification of matter. To borrow a common expression, "he is in the way of good luck," and he can take every advantage of it, when it comes to him,

should he possess the necessary information. It ought, therefore, to be the wish of every one who has at heart the improvement of the human race in every respect, and in connection with all the Arts—particularly the most important of all—the Art of government—to cause the stream of education to flow abundantly from the Alpine heights of society to its deepest valleys, and to make it reach all the lips that may thirst for its refreshing waters.

Thus we believe we may be allowed to say in conclusion, that one of the happiest results of the Mechanic Arts has been,—that their pursuit has become so intellectual, that they have made of the spreading of education through every class one of those necessities to which even the most despotic governments must submit, in order to keep pace with the improvements obtained in those nations where the public mind is unshackled and permitted to be enlightened. In our days, even emperors and princes vie with each other in building up palaces, not for the Sardanapalian minions of ease and luxury, but for the exhibition of the world's industry, and have erected the crystal focus of civilization, to which every mechanic from every part of the earth is invited to resort—to draw from it the flame of inspiration—and to receive, in the face of the congress of nations, amidst all the pomp, show and circumstance of royal splendor, the reward due to patient labor, to manual skill, to cultivated ingenuity, to scientific research, and to inventive genius.

Art. V.—ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI.

It is gratifying to see the interest now awakened throughout the Southern country on the subject of commercial intercourse between the fertile valleys of the West and the Atlantic seaboard. While Southern seaport cities are actively endeavoring to extend their foreign commerce, they are beginning to feel the necessity of establishing corresponding internal commercial systems, in order to develop the varied resources of an almost boundless interior, on which their wealth, prosperity, and future stability must chiefly depend. The rapid rise to a commanding importance of many Western cities and towns, as well as the wonderful prosperity of the whole Western country, has indicated to their sister cities of the South the advantages of direct and intimate commercial relations with them, and, indeed, given a new impetus to commercial enterprise. And this impetus will be quickened and strengthened as those cities and towns are more known in the details of their growth and importance; for the rise of some of them has been so rapid, as in a measure to forestall a correct appreciation of the true elements of their prosper-

ity, and a just estimate of the character and stability of their progressive advancement.

St. Louis, as she is now the first in importance of Western cities, presents beyond all others a striking and impressive example of this rapid extension. It will suffice only to remark the stages of her progress *in the last twenty years*. We quote from memory, but are confident no especial discrepancy will be found between our statements and the same facts as heretofore authentically published. Her population in 1833 was about 6,000; in 1853, it was upwards of 100,000—*having doubled itself within the period designated every five years!* In 1833, the taxable property of the city, both real and personal, amounted to not more than \$2,000,000; in 1853, *it was assessed at nearly \$40,000,000!* Within the space of twenty years, therefore, her population has increased *seventeen* times, and her wealth *nineteen* times beyond what both were in 1833. In the latter year the tonnage of boats belonging to St. Louis was scarcely 2,000; in 1853 it exceeded 37,000! The imports of the city, then *nothing*, were in 1853, \$917,000! The course of trade, which at that time exhibited a movement there of goods and produce valued at \$5,000,000, now pours into the city the materials of a commerce valued at \$100,000,000!!! And here let us remark—the hydrographic position of St. Louis is such, with reference to the geographical relations held by different portions of the Mississippi valley to each other, that, as by a physical law, she must ultimately become *its great distributing centre*. The natural centre of a territorial area of 700,000 square miles, teeming with mineral and agricultural resources, and capable of sustaining a population of *a hundred millions*, who may limit the predictions of her future destiny? She is at the head of the navigation of the Mississippi River for large steam vessels, and hence must be always *a point of transshipment* for the vast commerce of the Illinois, and the still more abundant treasures of the Upper Mississippi; while the noble Missouri brings to her very feet the golden harvests of its own glorious State—much of the wealth of prolific Iowa—and the varied commerce from beyond the “plains,” whose originally divergent channels concentrate on Missouri’s northwestern border. *Ten thousand miles* of river navigation belong peculiarly to her own waters, *with ten thousand miles of coast*—and there are *forty thousand miles* more of navigable rivers which connect with her. We will say here, too, that within the borders of the State *twelve hundred miles* of railroad have been projected and begun. It is needless at this time to speculate upon her probable future resources to be derived from the commerce of the Pacific, and of India.

Flour, tobacco, hemp, lead, and bale rope and bagging are her great staples, while she is a mart of export for all the various grains which constitute the produce of the country. The arri-

vals of hemp for the year 1853 were 63,450 bales; of bale rope and bagging, 58,439 coils; of lead, 441,889 pigs; of flour, 737,000 barrels; and of tobacco, about 13,000 hhds. These items will give some idea of the extent and variety of her trade.

Ten years ago there were in St. Louis but *three* manufacturing establishments, and these of insignificant pretensions; at present there are between *twenty* and *thirty*, most of them being remarkable for the unusual scale of magnitude upon which their operations are conducted. The extent of their operations, however, will be best comprehended by a statement of the number of workmen employed; about 3,000! These manufacturers are confined to no particular industrial branch. What her manufacturing interests are likely to be, especially in branches where *iron* is the material, may, perhaps, also be best understood in a knowledge of the natural resources which she possesses. The Iron Mountain and Pilot Knob, among the greatest of natural curiosities, are distant from St. Louis, south, the first eighty, and the latter eighty-six miles. They each cover an area of *five hundred acres*,—the former rising *two hundred and sixty feet*, and the latter *five hundred feet* above the level of the surrounding plain. *These immense formations are solid wedges of the purest ore!* The Iron Mountain has been estimated to contain *two hundred and twelve million tons of ore above the base*. By the first of November, 1855, the St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railroad, now begun, will bring these mountains within *four hours' transit* of St. Louis. *The first cotton factory established west of the Mississippi is in St. Louis*. Indeed, her manufacturing interests seem starting in a race of competition for predominance with those of her commerce, and it may be a question as to which will ultimately stamp her metropolitan character.

As this city has advanced in population, in wealth, in the extension of her commerce, and in manufacturing interests, so, in a harmonious ratio of progression, have all the diversified pursuits of her busy community multiplied and prospered. The history of *individual* opulence, then, would be found equally as striking as that of the city itself. ART has already taken up her abode, where at no distant day she will find perchance her favorite seat, and the spirit of educated taste goes hand in hand with the energy of humbler utility. The beautiful and the useful are there in happy and prosperous union. But our intention is to present only general outlines.

In view now of the facts stated, it is for the enterprising citizens of Charleston, in considering the benefits of commercial intercourse with the Mississippi valley, to determine how far it would be to their interests to constitute St. Louis *a definite point of connection*, and to aid and encourage, with favoring preference, all schemes and enterprises best calculated to promote this object. We cannot think, as we have heard some intelligent gentlemen of

the city of Charleston affirm, *that it is sufficient to reach simply the Mississippi—and by any route most likely to effect this soonest and in the most direct way possible.* And, according to the same authorities, it would appear that with reference to the Ohio valley, the citizens of Charleston have for a long time favored the idea of reaching Cincinnati as such a definite point. But the Ohio valley, extensive as its magnificent regions are, is comparatively a small portion of the "Great West;" and Cincinnati can never promote very materially the welfare of the city of Charleston. A glance at a map ought to settle this question. The commerce of the West, however railroads may multiply throughout the land, must move principally along the currents of our great "inland seas."

In projecting all extensive internal commercial systems, this must be a *leading idea*. Though railroads should cover the country with an iron network, yet, as its immense resources are developed, they could no more transport its commerce, than the numerous veins of the body could circulate the blood, without the interposition of the larger arteries. Now Cincinnati, with respect to the great tributaries of the Ohio and Mississippi—particularly the latter—is circumscribed within comparatively narrow limits of river navigation. The Ohio itself, by a rude natural key, is locked against her commerce at Louisville; and the Miami, the Wabash, and the Illinois, all bounteous streams of the valley, flow with their plethoric stores to the west of her. Her trade must continue to be, as it has hitherto been, altogether of a *domestic* character; her revenues are derived from numerous but petty manufactures, adapted to the wants of her own interior; she has no sympathy with the South; and though usurping the title of "*Queen City*," her dominion will never be more than a mere principality among sovereignties, where "*Commerce is king*,"

With Louisville, a flourishing and beautiful city, the case is quite different. For one, we hope to see the interest heretofore directed to Cincinnati, so far as the Ohio Valley is concerned, directed to *her* as the proper point for its concentration. And furthermore, whatever rivalry may subsist between Cincinnati and Louisville, between Louisville and St. Louis there is none; and such are their respective positions, *there can be none*. In suggesting, therefore, St. Louis as the point most important to the interest of Charleston in establishing her internal commercial relations and connections, we have had no desire to run a race of rivalry against other cities, or to monopolize where there are fields of action wide enough for all. St. Louis is destined to become commercially more than Venice ever *was*—and in manufactures what Lowell *is*! She can send to Charleston *exports*, and Charleston can return to her—*Cotton*.

Art. VI.—THE GREAT SOUTHERN CONVENTION AT CHARLESTON.

FIFTH DAY.

Resolved,—That a Select Committee of five be appointed to report, at their earliest convenience, upon the importance of a uniform system for the coinage of commercial nations, to facilitate mutual interchange.

Resolved,—That a uniformity in the value of the coins of different commercial nations is deemed by this Convention to be an object of much importance, and highly desirable.

2. That the Report of Dr. Gibbon, of the mint in North Carolina, on the subject herewith reported, be printed for circulation and more general information; and that he be appointed a committee, on the part of this Convention, to communicate the said Report, with these resolutions, to the proper authorities at Washington, and to request them to take such measures as they may deem best to effect the object.

3. That the Chamber of Commerce of Charleston, and other cities of the United States, be invited to aid the measure by their support.

Whereas, the General Government is about to become the owner of the Louisville and Portland Canal, at the falls of Ohio, by purchase of the private stock in said company, with her dividends arising from the tolls thereof;

And whereas, the said canal is now wholly insufficient to conduct the commerce seeking its passage, and the present tolls are about to cease, it is important that the present Congress adopt measures to take charge of said work, and fix a rate of tolls sufficient only for its being kept in order and repairs:—

Resolved, therefore, by this Convention, that the representation in both branches of the Congress of the United States, from States here represented, be requested to use their influence in procuring an appropriation by the General Government sufficient to enlarge the Louisville and Portland Canal to a size adequate to pass the largest class steamboats, and thereby remove the obstructions at that point of the Ohio River, now so embarrassing to trade.

Resolved,—That this Convention recommend to each of the Southern States having a seaport, to adopt the most efficient measures for the protection of the slave property of each State against abduction by sea, or otherwise.

S. F. LEAKE,

On behalf of the Va. Delegation.

By Mr. Heart, of South Carolina:—

Resolved,—That in view of the present deficient and imperfect condition of the mail service in the Southern States, both in regard to their communications with other portions of the Union, and with foreign countries, a committee of one from each State represented in this Convention be raised, to ascertain the extent of the evil, and to suggest the proper remedy.

In view of the great commercial as well as scientific importance of a complete knowledge of the geological features of the Southern country, and in consideration of the very imperfect character of the surveys heretofore made, be it

Resolved,—That, in the opinion of this Convention, it is proper to urge upon the respective State Legislatures the necessity of their undertaking complete geological surveys of each of the Southern States.

Resolved,—That this Convention cordially recommend to the consideration of the people of the States represented in this Convention, agricultural exhibitions and institute fairs, as one of the prominent means of developing the industrial resources of those States.

Also a number of papers, from the further consideration of which the committee ask to be discharged.

And, upon motion, the committee was discharged.

Mr. Nelson Tift, of Georgia, presented the following report, viz.:

The sub-committee of the Committee on Resolutions, to whom was referred the resolution submitted by Mr. Tift, of Georgia, and to whom leave was given by the Committee on Resolutions to report thereon to the Convention, report:

In the opinion of your committee, the several States of the Union have practical, simple and constitutional means, by virtue of powers not delegated in the Constitution of the United States, of protecting themselves against serious violations of their constitutional or natural rights, either by Congress, or by other States of the Union; and we believe that these means will avert, in all time, that dreadful catastrophe, disunion, and teach the enemies of the Constitution, and the usurpers of the rights of States, by the potent argument of interest, as well as justice, that their schemes of wrong cannot be prosecuted with impunity.

Without entering into an argument of principles or powers which are well settled, we will proceed to illustrate by a supposed case.

Virginia passes a law, the leading provisions of which are as follows:

1st. That if Congress shall pass any law abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, or in any territory of the United States, the Senators voting for the act, on its final passage, shall be held to represent the sovereign will of their respective States, (for acts of aggression committed by State authority within the limits of a State, the same remedy may be applied,) and that such States shall be considered as having intentionally violated their faith pledged to Virginia in the Constitution.

2d. That if any State shall violate its faith pledged to Virginia, in the Constitution of the United States, by any such act or acts, as specified in the first section, the Governor of the State shall issue a proclamation of the fact, with a notice that all articles of merchandise brought from such faithless State, after that date, and either purchased, sold, or consumed in the State of Virginia, will be subject to a tax of one hundred per cent. upon their value.

3d. That at the usual time of receiving returns of taxable property, the tax receiver, in addition to the usual oath, shall administer to tax-payers an oath, that they will render a true account, according to the best of their knowledge and belief, of all articles of merchandise brought from such faithless State, since the date of the Governor's proclamation, which they have either purchased, sold, or consumed in the State of Virginia.

4th. That such articles so returned shall pay a tax of one hundred per cent.

5th. That if any persons shall refuse to take the oath and pay the tax, they shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be fined in the sum of dollars, which may be remitted by subscribing the oath and paying the tax.

6th. That when the cause for enforcing the act shall be removed, or the injustice remedied, the Governor shall issue a proclamation of the fact, and the law shall thus be suspended, to be enforced again should any of the specified wrongs be committed.

To ascertain the effect of such a law, let us suppose that Congress has passed one of the acts thus denounced by Virginia, as violative of her constitutional or natural rights. The Governor issues his proclamation of the fact, and from that date, until the act of Congress shall be repealed, the law of Virginia will be in force against all the States whose senators in Congress voted for the act on its final passage. Every citizen is now notified that if he *knowingly* purchases, sells, or consumes any articles of merchandise

brought into Virginia, *after the date of the Governor's proclamation*, from any such offending State, he will be compelled to make oath of the fact, in returning his property for taxation, and pay the tax fixed by the State. The effect of such a law would be, that neither the merchants nor other citizens of Virginia would purchase any merchandise from the offending States, to be sold or consumed in Virginia, consequently they would not be taxed. Her citizens would trade exclusively with States which continued faithful to the Constitution. The wealth which the trade of Virginia gives would be diverted from those who had proved enemies of her rights, and given to her friends.

We believe that this argument of interest, coupled with an exhibition of the power of the State to do herself justice, will be the strongest preservative of the Constitution, and the Union which it forms, and be the means, in the end, of preserving peace and harmony among the States.

Mr. N. D. Coleman, of Mississippi, at the request of the Charleston delegation, withdrew the resolution submitted by him yesterday, relative to printing.

Mr. C. K. Marshall, of Mississippi, offered the following resolution, which was adopted, viz.:

Resolved,—That this Convention, deeply impressed with a sense of the distinguished hospitality of the citizens of Charleston, begs leave to tender to the "Calhoun Monument Fund" a contribution in aid of its erection, in token of our appreciation of the politeness and liberality displayed in our entertainment here, and as an evidence of our profound veneration for the memory of South Carolina's favorite son, now numbered amongst the illustrious dead.

The Convention then resumed the consideration of the subject pending at yesterday's adjournment, viz.: the sixth measure of the third resolution, as submitted by the Committee on Resolutions.

Gov. Chapman, of Alabama, addressed the Convention as follows, viz.:

He expressed his regret that the delegations from the several States were not so full as they were when he commenced his remarks on the preceding day, when the Convention adjourned. His object, in the remarks he offered, was, if possible, to reconcile the views of members of the Convention, on the one side, and of placing himself in a proper position before the country on the other.

When the Convention adjourned yesterday, he was remarking that this was a Commercial Convention, composed of all political parties. He confessed that he belonged to one of the two great parties into which the country was divided, and hoped he was a consistent member of it; but still he respected those who differed with him. There was ground enough for all to stand upon, and business enough for them all to act upon, on which, as Southern men, they could agree. [Applause.] He must avow, however, his regret that a proposition of this nature had been brought before this body. He respected the chairman of the General Committee (Lieut. Maury) for his many valuable contributions to science; but still he could not agree to this proposition. Why were propositions of this nature introduced into the Convention? It was known—well known—that gentlemen of both political parties were present, and in order to avoid treading on each other's toes, in respect to questions involving political considerations, he had hoped that only such propositions would have been introduced as they were likely to agree upon. He supposed that gentlemen looked to future sessions of the Convention. He supposed that they looked to the perpetuity of these Conventions so long as their existence was necessary, and how could gentlemen expect harmony of sentiment or action under a proposition of this kind? In the State of Alabama, he was satisfied that the people stood three to one against such a proposition. According to the vote of yesterday, the reverse

of this might appear to be the case, but they might rely upon it, that if it was desirable to have Alabama represented in future Conventions, they could not have her under such a resolution as this. It was better, therefore, to renounce that on which, as party men, they could not agree. As a Southern and Southwestern Commercial Convention, they ought to look to the interests of the South, and to suggest and adopt only such measures as were calculated to promote those interests.

It seemed to him that there was no use in passing this resolution, even if it should be amended as thus proposed, and he would move to strike it out; and he should do so on the ground intimated by the gentleman from Virginia yesterday, that you would still leave to Congress to judge of whether these international improvements were constitutional or not. True, if Congress passed an unconstitutional law, the remedy was in the judiciary, and an appeal to the constituents of those who passed it.

He felt grieved to hear the remark of the honorable Senator from Tennessee (Mr. Jones) yesterday. When that gentleman contended that, constitutionally, there was no difference between appropriations of land or of money, the remark grated on his ear. If Alabama were compelled to swallow down all the doctrines contained in that report, they might rest assured of it that, although they might see delegates from that State in future sessions of the Convention, they would not see the representatives of the people. [Applause.]

He was here to endeavor to carry out the will of those whose representative he was. He came only to subserve their interest. He would never shrink from the obligations imposed upon him as a Southern man; but he saw a fair opportunity now of doing much for the South, if the Convention acted as it ought, and, with that view, he would entreat gentlemen to avoid those political questions on which, as party men, it was impossible they could agree. He regretted the necessity of saying this much; but he had said it in self-defence: for, humble as he was, he yet had a personality of character and a pride of principle. [Applause.]

Mr. Whittle, of Georgia, said that he too was a party man. In the district in which he resided he was known as a Whig; but when he left home, to attend this Convention, he left his political sentiment behind him, [great applause,] so far, at least, as not to obtrude it upon this Convention. They had met as gentlemen of the South, to consult with each other, and take counsel as to the best means of promoting her welfare, so that she might stand out in her true position in this republic. As a Whig, he believed in the constitutionality of these propositions, and would press them in the proper halls of legislation; but was it proper to endeavor to force them on the Convention, *volens volens*? [Applause.] It has been said that he was a wise man who struck the iron while it was hot; but a greater man was he who struck the iron till it was hot. While the iron was hot they had allowed the North to outstrip them in this race. Southern men felt that they had within them the power of greatness, and, if they intended to strike the iron while it was hot, they would concentrate their energies on those points and subjects on which every Southern man could agree, and on which there would be no danger of a split. And was it wise to permit this great object to be defeated, by introducing subjects which were purely of a political character? He trusted not. He would appeal to them as merchants, and manufacturers, and agriculturists; he appealed to the President and Vice-Presidents, and heads of delegations and chairmen of committees; he appealed to them as practical men, aye, as Southern men, not to bring these topics before the Convention, which would not only consume time which ought to be devoted to other purposes, but would tend to the production of dissension and discord, when peace and harmony and mental action for the good of the whole South ought to prevail. [Applause.]

Lieut. M. F. Maury addressed the Convention as follows :

Harmonious action is very much to be desired upon the subjects which this Convention may recommend ; and as some gentlemen are very much opposed to any recommendations concerning river and harbor improvements, Lieut. Maury said that he was disposed, in so far as he was concerned, to foster a spirit of compromise, with a view of obtaining unanimity ; and he therefore would, with the leave of the Convention, withdraw the sixth resolution. He wished it understood, however, that he did not make this request in the name of the General Committee, nor in his official character as its chairman, but as a member of the Convention who introduced this subject in committee.

Loud cries of "No, no," and "Vote, vote."

Mr. Oakley, of Louisiana, said he did not come here as a suppliant to the Halls of Congress for anything. He would not be a beggar for anything from that quarter, in behalf of Louisiana. The State which he represented had done much in the way of internal improvements, and all, too, without the aid of the General Government, and he would not give his vote here, instructing the Representatives of Louisiana to ask for any appropriations for the purpose indicated.

Loud cries of "Question, question," and "Order, order."

Mr. Lyons, of Virginia, hoped that the amendment offered by Lieut. Herndon to the third proposition, and adopted yesterday, would be stricken out. It involved a very serious question, which was, whether or not we should have a navigation of the Amazon, the Government of Brazil being willing or unwilling ? There was no authority for such a proposition. It was one involving a most dangerous policy, and might bring the United States into great trouble and difficulty. In his judgment, they had come here for no filibustering purposes whatever. They came as Southern men, for the purpose of considering the best mode of promoting Southern interests, and if he understood aught of Southern interests and Southern propriety—aught of the character of the people of the South—they were the most conservative of any portion of the Union. The nature and character of their institutions were such ; and yet, in a Southern Commercial Convention, gentlemen had undertaken to recommend open, outright, daring filibustering upon a neighboring nation. He could enter into no such recommendation. He was a Southern man all over. He was a Southerner first, Southerner always, and he would live and die a Southerner. He loved her because he believed her to be the main pillar of the liberty and glory of this republic. He made no comparison between her and any other section of the Union ; and because he did love her, while he desired her, in her legitimate sphere, to stand up for her own rights, and maintain them whenever they were invaded, he was also anxious that she should hold her hands off the rights of others, and enter into no filibustering expeditions at all. [Applause.]

Lieut. Maury, in reply to the gentleman from Virginia, said, that the question of the navigation of the Amazon was one of the express objects of the Memphis Convention, of which this was only an adjourned meeting. That Convention passed resolutions concerning the Amazon, and took strong grounds. When Brazil learned that the United States had resolved to send an officer of the navy—Lieut. Herndon—to the Amazon, the journals of the government in that country styled it, as the gentleman from Virginia has done, a filibustering enterprise—the whole country was styled there a nation of pirates. There are in Brazil two parties—the one with republican principles, the other monarchical ; the latter desiring close affinities with the European powers, the former with this country. The monarchical party is in power. It is opposed to progress. A few years ago, when the correspondence of the British Minister at Rio, upon the slave trade, was published in London, and reached Brazil, the Emperor was charged by his own

people with truckling to British influence, and there was such a cry raised in the country that he found it necessary to replace a minister, and to bring in a gentleman who had the confidence of the republican party. This party is in favor of the navigation of the Amazon, among other things; and he (the Lieut.) desired this Convention to show that the people here represented sympathized with liberal principles and a progressive spirit, in whatever part of the world they might exist. He wanted to let the Emperor of Brazil know that in this country there is, behind what may appear to his imperial eyes the throne, a power greater than any throne. The policy of that government had been the most illiberal, restrictive and Japanese. When Humboldt was in America, there was an order commanding that if he should touch the soil of Brazil he should be seized and made a prisoner. And when it was known in Brazil that Herndon was bound to the Amazon, ministers plenipotentiary and extraordinary were dispatched to the Spanish Republics owning on that river, to negotiate for its exclusive navigation, and expressly with the view of keeping us out. Peru fell into the trap, and negotiated a treaty by which she and Brazil alone were to participate in its navigation, for five or six years. And for the privilege of using Brazilian waters, Peru agreed to pay \$20,000 annually. But no sooner was this treaty ratified, than Brazil proceeded to give to one of her own citizens the exclusive monopoly of steamboat navigation there for thirty years. Her ministers, in the face of this fact, continued their efforts to negotiate with the other riparian republics, and to offer them as a consideration for shutting us out, the same monopoly which had already been twice pledged. Understanding that vessels were being fitted out in this country, on Peruvian account, to navigate the Amazon under the Peruvian flag, according to the treaty of 1851, that monarch stationed his navy at the pass of the Amazon, to keep those vessels out by force, and caused it to be announced officially here, in the United States, notwithstanding his solemn treaty stipulations with Peru, that no foreign flag whatever would be permitted to enter the Amazon.

We are told that these Conventions produce no good. The speech of Bishop Otey upon the Amazon, at the Memphis Convention, has been translated and published by the authority of the Government of Peru. And in the decree establishing ports of entry in that republic, upon the Amazon, it is expressly stated among the reasons for the measure, that it was done on account of the interest manifested by the people of this country with regard to that subject. Bolivia and Equador have proclaimed for their navigable tributaries of the Amazon the freedom of the seas, and have invited the people of all friendly nations to come there and occupy their lands, and cultivate and mine, and gather wealth—and under these circumstances it is said we have no right to go there.

According to the best writers on the law of nations, the navigation of the straits which connect free waters, even though both banks of those straits be owned by the same power, and within cannon shot of each other, is also free. Wheaton is very clear upon this point; and I suppose, said the lieutenant, my friend from Virginia will acknowledge him as authority. The gentleman says, "No, he does not!" However that may be, Wheaton is regarded by eminent men, both in this country and in Europe, to be authority by which nations are willing to stand; and it is expressly stated by the best writers on international law, that if the Straits of Gibraltar were not more than a marine league wide—that, if both banks were owned by the same power, that power would have no right to obstruct the use of those straits by the commerce of the world, nor to afford any obstacle whatever to vessels trading between that sea and the Atlantic. The Baltic and the Black Seas are both cases in point; and with regard to our own Mississippi, it was maintained, when its mouth was owned by a foreign nation, that we

not only had a right to the free use of its waters to and from the sea, but that we also had a right to a place near its mouth, for the transshipment of merchandise, for the loading and unloading and the deposit of goods—and to enforce this right money and men were placed at the disposal of the executive. But gentlemen say that this is not a parallel case—that then we, a riparian State, wanted to come down; whereas now, in the case of the Amazon, we are outsiders, and want to go up. We are claiming on the Amazon no more than what we are granting on the Mississippi. The upper States have established ports of entry there, and we want to go and trade with those ports. In our upper States on the Mississippi, we have also established ports of entry, or rather ports of delivery, with which the vessels of any friendly nation whatever may carry on a direct trade. The vessels of Brazil, or of France, or of England, entering the custom-house at New-Orleans, are free to go up with their cargoes to Nashville, or to St. Louis, or to Cincinnati, or to any other port of delivery in that magnificent water basin.

It has been intimated that it would not be courteous to Brazil were the Convention to express its views with regard to our rights upon the Amazon. This government has always claimed its right to the navigation of the St. Lawrence. Chicago, on the lakes, is a port of entry, where British vessels may come and trade direct; and, so far as we are concerned, French vessels, or the vessels of any other friendly nation with which we have commercial treaties, have guaranteed to them in our ports the rights and privileges of the most favored nation. Now, then, should the French people desire to open a trade between our lake ports and France, through the St. Lawrence, would it be discourteous to the British Government for them peaceably to assemble and to tell by resolution the people of this country who desire the navigation of the St. Lawrence, that they, the Frenchmen, desire to trade with us through that channel, and are of opinion that the law of nations and the everlasting principles of fair dealing give them the right to the free use, up and down, of that river, notwithstanding both banks belonged to Great Britain?

Our situation with regard to the upper States of the Amazon presents just such a case. Let us then encourage the people of our gallant little sister republics on that river, who are smoothing the way for us. Let us cheer them by showing them that we sympathize with them in their most noble policy, and that we mean to do all that, as good citizens, we may rightly do, to assist them in opening that river to the navigation of the world, its banks and its forests to settlement and cultivation.

And, after some discussion, participated in by Messrs. Whittle of Georgia, Oakley of Louisiana, Clapp of Mississippi, Drew of Florida, Perry of South Carolina, and Polk of Tennessee,

The previous question was called and seconded. And the question being, "Shall the main question be now put?" it was so ordered. And upon putting the question, leave was given to withdraw the sixth measure.

The question then recurring upon the third resolution, as amended, Mr. N. D. Coleman, of Mississippi, offered the following as a substitute, viz.:

Resolved,—That the Senators and Representatives in Congress, from the States represented in this Convention, be requested to urge upon Congress the importance of the following measures, viz.:

1. The reduction of duties on railroad iron.
2. The passage of an act for the improvement of the merchant service, by encouraging boys to go to sea, and for preventing desertion.
3. To send one or two small steamers up the Amazon, for the purpose of exploring the tributaries of that river, which the States owning them have declared to be free to the commerce and navigation of the whole world.

And that the Government of Brazil be requested to permit these vessels to make explorations and surveys upon the shores of the Amazon belonging to that nation.

4. To encourage the establishment of a line of male steamers between some Southern port or ports and the mouth of the Amazon, or some other port of Brazil.

5. And also to encourage the establishment of a direct mail route between some Southern port or ports and Europe.

Lieut. M. F. Maury addressed the Convention as follows:

Lieut. Maury rose merely to say that he had no desire to press these resolutions upon the Convention. He would much rather have them discussed, for he believed the principles contained in them and their preamble would receive force and strength from discussion; and he would be most happy for them to receive such discussion as he was sure gentlemen in this Convention were prepared to give them; but the session was far advanced, much business remained to be done, and debates were limited to ten minutes, which precluded the discussion which he so much desired. Therefore he would not press the resolutions at this time, but he would now give notice that, should he be honored with a place at the next Convention, he would there bring up this subject again, and maintain the doctrine that free waters make free straits.

And after discussion, participated in by Messrs. James Lyons, of Virginia, Nelson Tift, of Georgia, and Macfarland, of Virginia, upon the call of States, the vote appeared as follows, viz.:

Yeas—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas—10.

Nays—Indiana, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia—5.

The substitute was declared adopted.

Upon motion of Mr. B. F. Perry, of South Carolina, the fourth resolution was stricken out.

Upon motion of Governor Clay, of Alabama, the fifth proposition was stricken out.

The second report of the committee was then taken up.

The first resolution was amended by filling the blank with "one from each State represented in this Convention."

The first resolution, as thus amended, was then adopted.

The second resolution being under consideration,

Mr. Macfarland, of Virginia, moved to amend by striking out from "trade," in the third line, to "by," in the fifth line, which was not adopted.

After discussion, participated in by Messrs. Leake, of Virginia, Lyons, of Virginia, Macfarland, of Virginia,

The second resolution was adopted.

The third resolution being under consideration,

Mr. C. P. Gooch, of Virginia, offered the following as a substitute, viz.:

Resolved, That a committee, consisting of two members from each seaport represented in this Convention, be appointed, for the purpose of inquiring into the expediency of establishing a line of steam ships between one or more of said seaports and certain port or ports of Europe, with liberty to sit during the recess of the Convention, and to carry into prompt execution such scheme, having the above object in view, as may be agreed on.

Resolved, That the Southern delegation in the Congress of the United States be requested to urge the passage of an act authorizing the transportation of the United States mails in said steam ships, with such compensation as has been heretofore allowed to other steam lines for similar services.

Which was adopted. And the third resolution, so amended, was then adopted.

The fourth resolution being under consideration,

After discussion, participated in by Messrs. G. A. Trenholm, of South Carolina, G. S. Bryan, of South Carolina, James Lyons, of Virginia, John Cunningham, of South Carolina, T. A. Marshall, of Mississippi, Aylett, of Virginia, and Clutter, of Virginia,

Mr. Clutter, of Virginia, moved to amend by striking out the words "and equal."

Mr. James Lyons, of Virginia, moved to amend by striking out "reciprocal."

Mr. Nelson Tift, of Georgia, moved as a substitute the following, viz.:

Resolved, That this Convention recommend to the Government of the United States to make treaties with foreign governments, providing for the admission of tobacco and other Southern products at reduced rates of duty.

The question being taken upon Mr. Lyons' amendment, it was adopted.

The question then recurred upon the amendment of Mr. Clutter, and it was adopted.

After discussion, participated in by Messrs. T. A. Marshall, of Mississippi, Polk, of Tennessee, and Ruffin, of Georgia,

The question was taken upon the substitute offered by Mr. Tift, which was not adopted.

The question then recurring on the fourth resolution, as amended, it was adopted.

By permission, Mr. A. W. Putnam, of Tennessee, submitted a paper on Mines, Mining, and the Iron Works of Tennessee, which was ordered to be printed with the journal.

Iron Works in Tennessee.

Believing that all information relative to the development of the natural resources and wealth, the progress of manufactures and trade, in any one of the Southern States, will be appropriate and acceptable, and may be cheering and encouraging, the undersigned, as one of the delegates from the State of Tennessee, appointed by the Governor, will submit some of the information in his possession, upon some of these branches of industry.

The history of the manufacture of iron in Tennessee is a very interesting and instructive one, and would well justify an extended essay, were there not so many subjects to engage the time and attention, and so many gentlemen who can and may desire to furnish information of greater or equal interest.

Iron works were established in East Tennessee before the close of the last century, and some of them have a historical interest which ought not to be overlooked by the annalist.

At a very early day, I will state it as a somewhat curious fact, that iron was shipped from East Tennessee down four rivers, to find a market. Yes, the iron from East Tennessee was shipped down the Holston river, the Tennessee river, in their lengths, down the Ohio and down the Mississippi rivers, (say near two thousand miles,) to be sold at "the Natchez," and even at New-Orleans—a voyage of two-thirds the length of one across the Atlantic, with much more of labor, of peril, of adventure, of varied interest, and of profitable instruction. Such early and perilous adventures could only be undertaken and accomplished by such noble, gallant and hardy men as were the pioneers of our Western World. The diaries and narratives of some of these voyages, or "flat-boat trips," as they were called, and of the tedious and almost equally dangerous "land trip back through the wilderness," as were called the travels from New-Orleans and "the Natchez," through the Indian Territories of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and

Tennessee, are really among the most interesting papers to be gathered up and preserved in State Historical Societies.

There are few of these early adventurers now living.

From the "Mossy Creek Iron Works," and I believe, from another in the same section of East Tennessee, the first shipments of Tennessee iron were made. The merchants engaged in these "ventures" were such men as King and Hillsman—men of worth, men of energy, men of high character and deserved confidence and esteem in any community—call them "men of mark," for they have made their marks in and upon a new country, and their posterity should not efface or disgrace them.

Wm. Hillsman, who had retired to a few miles from Knoxville, to live in "dignified ease and easy dignity," and whom I visited some five years since, kindly furnished me with narrations of his experiences as a merchant, a river navigator, a supercargo, a salesman, and as a traveller, in the disposal of iron and other articles from East Tennessee, to the then great marts of trade and business, known as New Madrid, Walnut Hills, and "the Natchez."

Shipments of iron were made—even *nails*—to "the Natchez," but they would not sell. It was a bad speculation—they would not drive. Such trials *sharpen* men's wits, and since then the Tennesseans have learned to be much more "pointed and smooth," instead of so rough and blunt.

The correspondence and accounts of sales in these transactions bring to notice, or keep in prominent position, one who was recognized as the prince of merchants, the king of cotton dealers, who furnished the first paper currency for Mississippi—a circulating medium actually based upon the chief, the staple product of the country. He made "cotton gin receipts" as ready and a safer paper money than was ever furnished by any of the banks of that State—and early Territorial and perhaps State legislation sanctioned the currency. I allude to *Abijah Hunt*, who, in perhaps an ill-advised moment and manner, departed from his accustomed sphere and business, to intermeddle with politics, and in opposition to a young and talented lawyer—afterwards Judge, Governor, Senator and citizen, George Poindexter—and lost his life in a duel upon the bar opposite Natchez.

But I leave further remarks upon this early manufacture and trade of East Tennessee, and pass to that of the middle portion of the State.

Here is a history peculiarly *our own*, and with the origin, difficulties, advancement and final triumph, and continued prosperity and expansion of which, I will not weary this Convention. Few, even of the citizens of Middle Tennessee, know how many furnaces there are, or what amount of iron they make, nor of the value thereof, or number of hands employed, and I doubt not that some will stare, and think that I exaggerate, when I assert that there are between *forty and fifty furnaces* in Middle Tennessee! There are from thirty to thirty-five on the Cumberland river, below Nashville.

There are also two extensive rolling mills on the Cumberland river, owned by Woods, Payne & Co., and Hillman, Vanleer & Co., which consume, of pig metal, for the manufacture of bar iron, 9,000 tons, which will produce 6,000 tons of rolled, charcoal refined, bar, boiler, sheet, etc., worth \$100 per ton; 3,000 tons of pig used in making sugar kettles; 3,000 tons of pig used in making 2,000 tons of blooms: leaving 33,000 tons pig metal to be sold or shipped. The results may be summed up as follows:

48,000 tons of pig metal.	
9,000 tons used for the manufacture of 6,000 tons rolled,	
refined, bar, boiler, sheet, and other iron, at \$100 per ton,	\$600,000
3,000 tons pig, used in making sugar kettles, worth.....	200,000
3,000 do. do. do., 2,000 tons blooms, at \$75 per ton,.....	150,000
33,000 tons left, to be sold in pig shape, at \$38 per ton,.....	1,254,000

\$2,204,000

As to the amount of iron made at the furnaces on the Tennessee river and its tributaries, below the Mussie Shoals, I will not adventure a statement. There are twelve furnaces there—perhaps more. These are all in that direction of the State called Middle Tennessee, and, without attempting to present an estimate of the number of cords of wood, bushels of coal, provisions, machinery, wagons, teams, or implements requisite to so many and such extensive works, I will leave that to reasonable inference from the foregoing facts, and this other in conclusion, that the furnaces and mills here mentioned give employment to over 10,000 persons.

A. W. PUTNAM,
Delegate from Nashville, Tennessee.

Mr. Perkins, of Virginia, moved a re-consideration of the second resolution, which was not adopted.

The second report, as amended, was then adopted.

The third report of the Committee on Resolutions being taken up for consideration,

The first resolution was adopted.

The second resolution was adopted.

The third resolution being under consideration,

Gov. Chapman, of Alabama, moved to strike out "as published in the newspapers."

After discussion, participated in by Governor Chapman, of Alabama, Messrs. Tift, of Georgia, Coleman, of Mississippi, Whittle, of Florida, and Gen. Combs, of Kentucky,

Gen. Gadsden addressed the Convention as follows :

I do not understand the propositions before the Convention as intended to influence the Senate of the United States on the Mexican treaty, now under the consideration of that honorable body, only so far as that the territorial boundary agreed on may be made to embrace the *right of way for a railroad or thoroughfare* between the Atlantic and Pacific States of this Federation. It may be a satisfaction, however, to have explained how the resolution now submitted appears in a form so different from the one presented by the mover and referred to the committee. The gentleman from Kentucky, Gen. Combs, submitted the original to me, with the inquiry as to the probability of obtaining by treaty, from the Mexican government, a right of way for a railroad, which had now become so important to the country at large. My reply was, "Why appeal to the President to do that which has already been performed, and which is now in the province of the Senate to accord?" for it is well understood that the new boundary line with Mexico was determined and arranged in part, with a view to this important national object. The obligations devolved on the mission to Mexico, were to harmonize all the existing issues between the two governments, and particularly those which had arisen under adverse interpretations of the treaty of Guadalupe. Prominent among these stood the boundary question, which had been greatly complicated by the action of Mr. Bartlett, who superseded Col. Graham as Commissioner. The mystery which obscured his appointment, said to have been made at the instance of Mr. Seward, to the exclusion of a highly accomplished and scientific predecessor in charge of, and who had made great progress in correctly determining the boundary as defined in the treaty; the little respect he paid to those previous investigations, or to the examinations and opinions of associated astronomers and surveyors, in conformation; the readiness with which he yielded to the version of the Mexican commissioner, restricting greatly the boundary, to the exclusion or surrender of the Mesilla valley, and with it the right of way or transit to the Pacific, were all calculated to awaken apprehensions that the Commissioner was influenced by an over zeal against the interests of the South and the West,

which seems to have become such a passion with his patron. The treaty under consideration recovered what had been thus surrendered, and thus secures to the Union one among other favorable thoroughfares to the Pacific. The violent attacks in the public prints, and in the lobbies at Washington, of the provisions of the treaty, while under consideration by the Commissioner, remain unexplained.

To the allusion of the gentleman from Tennessee to a telegraphic dispatch of this morning, it may be observed, that there are, and can be, no secrets in the government. The treaty, with the very message of the President accompanying it to the Senate, has appeared in what are recognized as the official prints at the capital. Now, the dispatch which has reached this quarter, conveys the astounding fact that the most imposing and violent opposition to the treaty is, that it *covers the proper ground for a railway*, and acquires an *addition of territory*, which may encourage Southern emigration and occupancy. The question having come up, whether the Convention would recommend the ratification of a provision of the treaty which secures the object of right of way so much appreciated; or whether this body will rely on the other resolutions of the report to secure the object desired, remains with them.

The proposition for a charter for a railroad to the Pacific, from the State of Virginia, to be patronised by the other States interested, is not novel, nor without precedent. States having common interests may combine under corporations as well as individuals. The Louisville, Charleston, and Cincinnati Railroad originated in a charter from the States of South and North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky, and for the accomplishment of which each contributed more or less to the capital. On a more general and enlarged system of internal improvements by railways and canals, we find the States everywhere becoming copartners with individuals in these enterprises. Why may not, therefore, (without any apprehensions of political leagues,) the Southern Atlantic States co-operate with those equally interested in the central Valley of the Mississippi, on a great highway, by the route most practicable, to the Pacific?

It is but appropriate that the elder sister, and to whom we have always turned with confidence, should take the lead in this case, and grant such a charter as may invite the patronage and co-operation of neighbors equally concerned. Such a corporation, and under the grants of powers made, may treat legitimately with Mexico for a right of way, if denied us, or rejected, after being secured, as it has been by our federal head, to whom the application is more appropriate than it could be to Mexico direct. The protection of that head is general, and should not be sectional.

Gov. Jones, of Tennessee, addressed the Convention as follows:

I know that every member of this Convention is intending to reach the same point, and I submit to this Convention, and to you, sir, whether we are not treading upon hazardous and dangerous ground? We are attempting to know that which we have no right to know. We are advising upon a subject we have no right to understand. If newspapers have published this treaty, how can we tell that they have published it correctly? I have seen three or four publications which profess to be the treaty, and all of them are of a different character. The words of the gentleman from Georgia have wisdom in them. We had better not attempt to legislate upon this subject as a Convention. Whatever may be in it will be communicated to the Southern people by Southern members in good time.

We are asked here to recommend the ratification of the Gadsden treaty. Is there a man here who will undertake to say what the Gadsden treaty is?

Will you take the report of the *New-York Herald*? Will you take the report of the *Washington Union*, or the *Tribune*, or of forty other newspapers in the United States? and come here and ask the Senate of the United

States to ratify that which by every principle of honor is a secret? I do not believe that any one will suspect me of wanting in interest for the success of the Pacific Railroad. It is the only thing which brought me here; but I am not prepared to vote for the resolution, and I warn gentlemen how they attempt to meddle with that of which they can have no certain knowledge. I hope my friend from Tennessee will withdraw his amendment, and I will move to lay the resolution on the table.

The Hon. Wm. C. Dawson addressed the Convention as follows:

There is a delicacy about this whole matter, which ought to be strictly observed. It is not necessary for me to say to this Convention that with me Southern rights and Southern institutions are safe; nor is it necessary to say that those with whom is placed the power of ratification or rejection of a treaty with all the facts before them, may be supposed better able to decide than you can be; and that, under all the circumstances, nothing can be gained by your recommendation. On this question I see no necessity for agitation or excitement. All will come out in proper time. In the meantime, permit me to say that your representatives in Congress, and your senators, I have no doubt, will faithfully discharge their duties, and meet with your approbation.

ART. VII.—THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE MORAL LAW.

HISTORICAL monuments of antiquity, (especially those of the early Egyptians,) and scriptural authorities of the most remote date, recognize the existence of slavery as one common feature of general society among the civilized and barbarous nations of the East.

The laws of the Hebrew reformed code make various references of objection to the customs of neighboring nations, which lead us to estimate *the reasons* of different provisions which peculiarize their enactments.

The Hebrews were not permitted to enslave their own countrymen, or race. They were ordered to take or purchase servants of wandering aborigines, savages, and idolaters.

Special laws were enacted to prevent cruel or oppressive treatment of servants, of every description, in order that their physical and moral condition might be ameliorated and react upon their original stock. There is nothing more distinct throughout the moral code than cautious protection for the persons, the property, the feelings of the poorest Hebrew or "stranger."

The most indigent were taught to understand that relief directed by the law, for them, originated from the same source as the prosperity of those who offered it—in the name and by the instructions of the Divinity.

Captives in war and poor debtors were usually bought or sold themselves as servants, such custom prevailing to preserve life, to prevent cruel practices of torture and violent death, common among savages then as now.

The Hebrews were plainly permitted to purchase prisoners from their wild or wandering neighbors ; to instruct them in the arts and manners of agriculture, pastoral and civil life. An express law prohibits the *stealing* of such servants, for sale !

Another law directs that, where prisoners or slaves ran from their barbarous masters in the neighborhood, into Hebrew territory, they should not be disturbed nor given up, but allowed to settle, liable to the same regulations for moral restraint as the Hebrews were bound by.

This is the law modern abolitionists affect to consider applies to the condition of slaves leaving their masters in one State of one country, and fleeing into another State under the same constitution of general government. Whereas the precept is addressed to the whole body of the Hebrew people, without distinction of tribe, and obviously refers to servants of the stranger.

No code of laws is more particular than the Hebrew to protect slave and all other property from undue violence, even of a master, and from the covetousness of his neighbors.

The Tenth Commandment specially interdicts such feelings in relation to servants as to other recognized property.

The law objecting to the return of a runaway servant could not have been intended to protect a slave in one tribe or State of the Hebrews from his master in another Hebrew State, because *special* relief is provided for inhumanity to slaves, and because the title to such property is as distinctly admitted as to any other.

It was to protect the runaway servant of bordering savages and of strange masters, not influenced by the same moral and social institutions as the Hebrews !

We perceive great distinction between the original intention of the law and that attributed to it by our modern reformers, some of whom would encourage any license to outrage all the *principles* of mercy, justice and truth, rather than abate any portion of their "vain imaginings !"

In order to prove the ground upon which these views are offered, we refer to Hebrew history and law, as to those of other ancient nations whose authorities remain among us.

The first peculiarity which arrests attention, after the exodus, is the *compensation* directed to be made *to a servant*, for the loss of an eye or a tooth, by any hasty impulse of anger in a master.

This was a new principle, brought into action under cover of an ancient proverb.

"An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," was the law of retaliation common among barbarous nations then as now, which demanded "life for life," according to the phrase used at

that time. Moses employs the saying, but demonstrates very different results by his law of practice!

"If a man strike out the eye of a man-servant, or the eye of a maid-servant, *that it perish*, he shall let him or her *go free*, for the eye's sake!"

This authorized no retaliation in kind, but a payment, a loss of property obligatory upon the master, to compensate for injury by inhumanity to his own servant. A Hebrew master, therefore, was not allowed with impunity to maim his own slave—his acknowledged property—bought with his money of the stranger!

The institution of slavery was thus employed by the Moral Law to introduce more gentle treatment of servants than was customary among the neighbors of the Hebrews. Slavery was legalized under general principles of humanity and equity, which included laboring animals as well as laboring men.

The son and the daughter, the man-servant and the maid-servant, the ox and the ass, were all regarded by one common law of mercy, of justice, and of truth!

The reformed Code of the Hebrews, like the Constitution of the United States, framed by men taught to respect the principles of the former, allowed the ancient institution of slavery to remain, looking to the improved condition and intelligence of the masters for those ameliorations incidental to the moral progress of society, under proper instruction and their own experience of history.

Among the comparisons of Solomon, there is an expression which appears to authenticate the discrimination we wish to make in reference to the peculiar Hebrew expression:—

"If thine enemy hunger, give him bread to eat; if he be thirsty, give him water to drink; for thou shalt *heap coals of fire upon his head*, and the master will reward thee."

The practice of heaping coals of fire upon the scalp of an enemy was the practice among savages before the days of Solomon, as in our own time.

By reference to this cruel custom, he plainly shows the advantages of a different kind of retaliation—that by the law of mercy.

He also employs a similar old proverb to explain the new truth.

This is in strict accordance with the great moral precept of the Hebrew Leviticus:—

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself!"

Moses authorized some distinction between neighbors, but did not allow any differences to restrain men from the ordinary duties of good neighborhood in relation to servants or to cattle.

"If thou see the ox or the ass of him that *hateth thee*, lying under his burthen, and wouldst forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him."

"If thou meet *thine enemy's* ox or his ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again."

In these instances equal provision seems made for moral conduct towards those who dislike us and for those we dislike.

The new instructions point to reconcilements and to peace, instead of tumult, violence, and angry dissensions.

Our modern abolition antagonists persuade themselves that slavery is an immorality.

The moral laws of God sanction it under a wise system of supervision, and slave owners may compare the condition of their servants with those who dispute their possession, and would recklessly confound or suspend all laws. The morality of the Hebrew Scripture, is presented in the form and with the exactness of a natural science, and can be proven to accord in utility with other branches of similar knowledge.

That moral code was a great reformation over the deceptions and oppressions authorized *by the laws* of ancient civilized nations, as well as over the barbarous manners and customs of neighboring savages, whose practices are vividly represented by descriptions fully according with modern experience.

The moral reformation was based upon "three principles," explained to be characteristic of the Divinity, in whose name these laws were promulgated.

Truth was regarded quite as indispensable for law, as mercy and justice.

If it is true that slavery was permitted by moral law, we cannot avoid the conclusion that it was a just and a merciful institution, arranged and modified to prevent *greater* cruelty and inhumanity, and to prepare wild and savage races of men for the milder influences of a peaceful and gradual civilization.

These ancient laws evince large experience and careful comparisons, by frequent references to the practices of other nations. They defer in some points to the ancient customs of the Egyptians, among whom the Hebrews resided for several centuries; yet, with our increased information, we may discover a practical significance, even among the more ceremonial features, and in their absolute utility we can distinguish the groundwork of all modern improvement.

An acquaintance with the moral laws contributed largely to the peculiar forms of our own constitution of government, and we daily discover cause to reverence their considerate humanity and their superior wisdom.

These moral laws were given for the peculiar advantage of a Southern people, who had obtained their freedom as colonists from the government of another people, to whom they were probably allied by race. They are adapted by their liberality to the special favor of the people of the South.

Art. VIII.—COMMERCE OF MONTEVIDEO IN 1853.

ALTHOUGH after the September revolution, which caused the resignation of the President Don Francisco Giro, and the election of a Provisory Government, the chiefs of the various departments of the interior subjected themselves to the new administration, yet it is apparently to be attributed to that fact only, that those belonging to the opposition had no time for preparing resistance and effecting a counter-revolution. Therefore a short time after appeared an armed corps of insurgents at different places. The Provisory Government was compelled to send anew troops into the interior, the elections must be suspended, and for two months an exasperated civil war raged with alternative success. According to the last news, Colonel Flores, member of the Provisory Government, had succeeded in annihilating Lucas Morino, the principal leader of the insurrectional party. Though the great majority of the interior of the country desires peace, though the chiefs of the insurgents succeed only by force in collecting troops, yet there are very little hopes for the re-establishment of peace in the interior, unless one or the other party are entirely destroyed. However, as the daily guerrilla skirmishes lead to no result, and as the insurgents, by the very thinly spread population in the Campagne, are enabled even after a defeat to hide themselves for some time, in order to reappear after a short delay at any other point, hopes and wished-for peace will be in vain.

In the mean time the country approaches with gigantic steps to ruin, as all confidence has disappeared, and commerce and intercourse for many months have been paralyzed, the emigration of the foreign population to Buenos Ayres increases daily (for 5 months 15 to 20,000), and all prospects for a flourishing state of the Republic, of which there were during the biennial peace many traces visible, are nipped in the bud.

By the treaty of October, 1851, Brazil is obliged to guarantee with her power and influence the peace of the Republic, and therefore it is very likely that she will undertake an armed intervention, the more, as it seems to be the desire of the moderados of both parties, which are expecting the greatest advantages from it. The whole foreign population looks to it as a guarantee for their security and property. It is said that Brazil will send by land and by water a sufficient force to occupy Montevideo and all principal points in the Campagne, to restore order, to watch over the elections, and to support the new administration with money. Should this intervention take place, commerce and intercourse would be certainly re-established; the Republic, however, would lose her independence, as Brazil would surely

make use of the offered opportunities. As to the rich natural resources of that country, a few years of peace would be sufficient to create again a flourishing state of the whole affairs; and if the population should increase by immigration, the foreign elements would offer a positive guarantee for a stable peace. A consolidation of the enormous debts, which amount to more than 80 millions of dollars, and which recently have increased, is, under the present circumstances, beyond all hope. The rents of the Customs were sold some months ago to a company of foreign merchants, guaranteeing to the Government a monthly revenue of \$130,000. However, that contract has been by the occurrences of the present civil war annulled, and that company administers, by request of the government, the customs for account of the latter, until peace shall be regained, when the contract will revive again.

The imports were in the first six months of the past year generally large, as the political disturbances in the province of Buenos Ayres, and the blockade of that city, concentrated the entire business for the Argentine Republic in Montevideo. But after the July revolution it has been continually decreasing, with the only exception of the most necessary articles, as flour, timber, salt, wines and liquors, as there have been of the latter very small importations, and as in Buenos Ayres very high prices are paid for them.

The exports of Montevideo in 1853 were as follows:—

Destination.	DRY		SALTED		Tallow.	Wool, Bales.	Horse hairs, Bales.	Sheepskins		Jerked Beef.
	Ox and Cow-hides.	Horse-hides.	Ox and Cow-hides.	Horse-hides.				Hal.	Pieces	
United States.....	188,846	600	13,230	4,205	55	1,576	1280	—	6,066	—
England.....	37,895	111,762	99,213	84,540	1,602	2,135	973	80	19,732	—
Antwerp.....	124,687	639	7,311	3,021	—	31	26	—	—	—
France.....	117,259	21,358	12,104	865	63	760	538	4	25,440	—
Genoa.....	146,515	33,957	31,540	10,247	132	1,326	279	35	42,120	—
Spain.....	70,002	230	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Brazil.....	530	200	—	—	171	—	—	—	—	23,514
Havana.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17,155
	665,725	174,031	163,407	102,678	2,023	6,028	2,096	119	93,378	40,660

Art. IX.—RESULTS OF THE BRITISH CENSUS OF 1851.

THE number of people in Great Britain and the small adjacent Islands, in 1851, was 20,950,477; and the men in the army, navy, and merchant service, and East India Company's service, abroad, on the passage out, or round the coasts, belonging to Great Britain, amounted, on the same day, to 162,490. The population of Great Britain may, therefore, be set down at *twenty-one millions, one hundred and twenty one thousand, nine hundred and sixty-seven* (21,121,967).

The annexed table exhibits the distribution of the people :—

TABLE I.—*Population of Great Britain in 1851.*

	Males.	Females.	Total.
England	8,281,734	8,640,154	16,921,888
Scotland	1,375,479	1,513,263	2,888,742
Wales.....	499,491.....	506,230.....	1,005,721
Islands in the British Seas	66,854.....	76,272.....	143,126
Army, Navy, and Merchant Seamen..	162,490.....	162,490
Total	10,386,048.....	10,735,919.....	21,121,967

British subjects in foreign States are not included in the general population, as given in the preceding table, the exiles and foreign subjects in Great Britain being considered a set-off against them.

"It is difficult," says the Report, "to form any just conception of these large numbers, for men are rarely seen in large masses, and when seen, their numbers are seldom known. It is only by collecting, as in other cases of measuring, the units into masses, these masses into other masses, and thus ascending progressively to an unit comprehending all others, that the mind attains any adequate notion of such a multitude as a *million* of men. Thus, from a file of *ten* persons, which the eye takes in at one view, the mind readily conceives ten such groups, or a *hundred*; and again ascending to ten hundred, or a *thousand*; to ten thousand, or a *myriad*; to ten myriads, or a *hundred thousand*; and to ten hundred thousand, or a *million*—arrives at a conception of the *twenty-one millions* of people which Great Britain contained within its shores on the night of the 30th of March, 1851. Another way of arriving at this conception is by considering the numbers in relation to space; as 4,840 persons might stand without crowding on the 4,840 square yards in an acre, 3,097,600 persons would cover a square mile (equal to 640 acres); and the twenty-one millions of people in Great Britain, allowing a square yard to each person, would therefore cover seven square miles."

"The building of the Great Exhibition in London," continues the Report, "inclosed 18 acres, and 50,000 or 60,000 persons often entered it daily; on the 9th of October, 93,224 persons filled its floor and galleries, and could almost be surveyed by the eye at one time. Of 100,000 persons, a general notion can therefore be formed by all those who witnessed this spectacle at the Crystal Palace; it is a greater number than were ever, at one time, in the building, but somewhat less than the greatest number (109,915) that ever entered it on one day, the 7th of October. The population then of Great Britain, including men, women, and children, exceeds 211 hundred thousands; and at the rate of a hundred thousand a day, could have passed through the building in 211 days; the English, as they were 169 hundred thousand, in 169 days; the Welsh, 10 hundred thousand, in 10

days ; the Scotch, 20 *hundred thousand*, in 20 days ; the 143,126 Islanders in the British Seas, and the 162,490 soldiers, seamen, and others absent from the country when the Census was taken, in 3 days." In 1801, the population of Great Britain amounted, in round numbers, to 109 *hundred thousands*, and could have passed through a similar building in 109 days ; consequently, 102 days of such a living stream represents the *increase* of the British people during the last half century.

Striking as are the foregoing illustrations of the number of inhabitants in Great Britain, another perhaps is wanting to enable the popular mind adequately to appreciate 21 *millions* of people.

It is well known that to *mass* quantity is to conceal bulk ; thus it was stated the other day, that the whole of the vast yields of California and Australia, melted down to a solid mass of gold, would only fill a tolerably sized room ; and so it is with numbers. A general, wishing to conceal the strength of his army, forms it into masses.

Now, if all the people of Great Britain had to pass through London in procession, four abreast, and every facility was afforded for their free and uninterrupted passage, during 12 hours daily, Sundays excepted, it would take nearly three *months* for the whole population of Great Britain to file through, at *quick* march, *four* deep. To count them singly, at the rate of one a second, would take a year and a half, assuming that the same number of hours daily were occupied, and that Sundays also were excepted.

It has been stated that, in a future publication, the ages of the population will be given, their condition, and occupations. As regards age, they will be arranged in quinquennial sections, that is, in sections advancing by periods of five years each, from children in arms to the age of ninety and upwards. The people will then be classed in sections, as husbands, wives, widowers, widows, bachelors, and spinsters ; again, they will be grouped, first, according to place of residence, and subsequently, under the countries and counties in which they were born ; and, finally, they will be arranged in professions or occupations, from the prince to the peasant ; paupers, prisoners, lunatics, and vagrants, being severally grouped : and, as the survey will extend over thousands in more than a thousand different callings, it is evident that, as the greatest exhibitions of modern times only displayed a small part of the produce of the labors of the people, so the visitors to it only represented a fraction of the multitudinous population of these islands, which the enumerators found so variously occupied on the sea, on rivers, and on the coasts ; in the valleys and on the hills ; in cities, towns, villages, and solitary habitations over the face of the country.

The number of the male population of Great Britain, excluding those absent in foreign countries, was 10,223,558, and the female population 10,735,919; consequently the females were in excess of the males by 512,361, or as many as would have filled the Crystal Palace five times over; how many of these were spinsters, cannot be known until the second portion of the Census is published. The proportion between the sexes in 1851 was 100 males to 105 females, or about the same as in 1801.

The *births* during the last thirteen years give a reversed proportion, viz., 105 *boys* to 100 *girls*. How much the change in the proportions, and the subsequent disparity of the numbers in the two sexes, is due to emigration, or to a difference in the degree of the dangers and diseases to which they are respectively exposed, will be discussed when the numbers of males and females living at different periods of life are compared. The disparity in the proportions of the sexes is greatest in Scotland, there being no less than 110 females to 100 males in that country.

The following table gives the population of Great Britain and the Islands of the British Seas, including the army, navy, and merchant seamen, abroad, as enumerated at each Census, from 1801 to 1851, inclusive:—

TABLE II.—Population of Great Britain as enumerated at each Census, from 1801 to 1851 inclusive.

Years.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1801.....	5,368,703.....	5,548,730.....	10,917,433
1811.....	6,111,261.....	6,312,859.....	12,424,120
1821.....	7,096,053.....	7,306,590.....	14,402,643
1831.....	8,133,446.....	8,430,692.....	16,564,138
1841.....	9,232, 18.....	9,581,368.....	18,813,786
1851.....	10,386,048.....	10,735,919.....	21,121,967

It will be seen by the foregoing table that the population of Great Britain has nearly doubled since the commencement of the present century, notwithstanding the great number that have annually left the country, and settled and multiplied into millions in the United States, in the colonies of North America, Australia, and South Africa. The increase in the last fifty years has been 93·47 per cent., or at the rate of 1·329 per cent. annually, the increase of each sex being about equal.

The annual *rate* of increase has varied in each decennial period; thus in 1841–51, the population has increased, but the *rate* of increase has *declined*, chiefly from accelerated emigration.

The emigration from Great Britain and *Ireland* in the ten years 1821–31 was 274,317; in the ten years 1831–41 it amounted to 717,913; and in the ten years 1841–51 it had increased to 1,693,516.

It has been shown by Dr. Farr, in his English Life Table, that the half of a generation of men of all ages passes away in *thirty* years, and that three in every four of their number die in

half a century. Taking emigration and other movements of the population into account, it is probable that of the 21,121,967 persons in Great Britain in 1851, 2,542,289 were born prior to the Census of 1801, and were enumerated on that occasion. At the present rate of mortality, a few of the present generation will be alive a century hence.

If the population of Great Britain continues to increase uniformly at the same rate that it has done from 1801 to 1851, it will double itself every $52\frac{1}{2}$ years.

Law of Population.—The increase of population depends on many varying elements, but it is not intended here to discuss at any length what is termed the *Law of Population*.

The increase or decrease of a people depends upon the age of marriage, the age of parents when children are born, the numbers who marry, the fertility of the marriages, the duration of life, and the activity of the migration flowing into or out of the country. These influences act more or less upon each other. The Report here indicates the effect of a change in each element while the others remain constant.

1. "The numbers of the population bear a definite relation to the duration of life, or to the mean lifetime. Thus, if the mean lifetime of a population is 30 years, then if the births are 100,000 a year, and remain uniform, the population will be 30 times 100,000, or 3,000,000. Now, the births remaining the same, let the lifetime be gradually extended to 40 years, then the population will become 4,000,000; or if the lifetime is extended to 50 years, the population, from the extension of life alone, will rise from *three* to *five* millions. The deaths, upon this hypothesis, will be equal to the births, and the same in number when the population is *five* as when it is four or three millions. It is probable that the mean lifetime of the great body of the population did increase from the year 1801 to 1821, when the increase of population was greatest in Great Britain."

2. "The interval from the birth of one generation to the birth of their descendants of the generation following, bears also a definite relation to the numbers, which increase as the interval is shortened. Thus, if the population increases at the rate of 1.329 annually, and if the intervening time from generation to generation is $33\frac{1}{3}$ years, it follows that the increase from generation to generation is 55 per cent., or that every 1,000 women are succeeded, at the interval of $33\frac{1}{3}$ years, by 1,553 women; every *two* couples, male and female, by *three*. If the interval is contracted, and the increase from 1,000 to 1,553 takes place in 30 years, the annual rate of population increases, from 1.329 to 1.477 per cent.; and as we assume by hypothesis that the births and the lifetime remain the same, the population would be ultimately one-ninth part more numerous than it was under the for

mer conditions. Early marriages have the effect of shortening the interval between generations, and tend in this way to increase the population.

3. "An increase in the fertility of marriages will evidently cause an increase in the population."

4. "In ordinary times, a large proportion of the marriageable women of every country are unmarried, and the most direct action on the population is produced by their entering the married state. Thus, in the Southeastern division, comprising Surrey, Kent, Sussex, Hants, and Berks, the number of women of the age of 20, and under the age of 45, amounted, at the last census, to 290,209, of whom 169,806 were wives, and 120,403 were widows or spinsters. 49,997 births were registered in the same counties during the year 1850, or ten children were born in 1850 to every 58 women living in 1851. Of the children, 46,705 were born in wedlock, 3,292 were born out of wedlock; consequently, 36 wives bore in the year *ten* children, and of 366 unmarried women of the same age (20-45), *ten* also gave birth to children. A change in the matrimonial condition of a large proportion of the 120,403 unmarried women, out of 290,209 women at the child-bearing age, would have an immediate effect on the numbers of the population; and, if continued, by increasing the rate of birth to the living through successive generations, would operate on population like a rise in the rate of interest on the increase of capital."

5. "The effect of migration on the numbers of the population is evident. It is probable that the immigration of Irish has contributed to the increase of the population in England, and it is certain that the emigration from the united kingdom contributes largely to the increase of the population of the United States. The emigrants are a self-perpetuating body in healthy climates, and they increase faster abroad than the general population at home, as they contain an excess of the population at the reproductive age; so that, if their numbers are added together, it is certain that we get, in the aggregate, a number much below the actual number of survivors. The population of Great Britain and Ireland, including the army, navy, and merchant seamen, was 21,272,187 in 1821, and about 27,724,849 in 1851; but in the interval, 2,685,747 persons emigrated, who, if simply added to the population of the United Kingdom, make the survivors and descendants of the races within the British Isles in 1821, now (in 1851) 30,410,595."

6. "The numbers of the population are increased by an abundance of the necessities of life, and reduced by famines, epidemics, and public calamities, affecting the food, industry, and life of the nation. The pestilences of the middle ages—the famine, the influenza, and the cholera of modern times—are ex-

amples of one class of these agencies ; the security and freedom which England has latterly enjoyed, are examples of the beneficent effect of another class of influences, not only on the happiness of the people, but also on the numbers which the country can sustain at home and can send abroad to cultivate, possess, and inherit other lands."

The extent to which all these causes affect the increase of population of Great Britain, will ultimately be known by means of a continuous series of such observations as have been commenced at the present census.

Art. X.—MANAGEMENT OF SLAVES.

[Several very interesting papers have appeared from time to time in the pages of the REVIEW upon this subject, but the views of the following are so eminently wise and practicable that we cannot refrain from giving it a place. Robert Collins, of Macon, Geo., is the author, in the columns of the *Alabama Planter*.]

HISTORY teaches the existence of slavery, from the earliest period of time.

It is at least coeval with the records of human society. It prevailed in all the greatest and most civilized nations of antiquity. The earliest glimpses of Egyptian life exhibit pictures of bondage. The oldest monuments of human labor upon her soil everlastingly perpetuate both her greatness, and the extent of that system of slavery by which such greatness was achieved.

Abraham, the father of the faithful and founder of the Jewish nation, was the purchaser and owner of hundreds of slaves. Babylon and Tyre were markets for the sale of men. The fir-trees and cedars of Lebanon were cut and hewed by the *servants* of Haram, and brought to Joppa in floats by sea ; thence carried to Jerusalem by the *servants* of the King of Israel. The Temple of Solomon was arrayed in all its glory by the mighty power of this system, directed by the highest wisdom.

In Attica, Laconia, and all the other prominent States of classic Greece, the slave population was greater than the free, and the same was true of Rome in her most virtuous days.

Slavery was established and sanctioned by divine authority ; and ever since the decree went forth, that the descendants of Canaan should be "servants of servants," slavery has existed in a variety of forms, and in nearly all nations ; until now, in the midst of the nineteenth century, we find ourselves in the possession of three and a half millions of this peculiar race, without any agency on our part.

Being thus providentially, as it were, endowed with the responsibilities, as well as advantages, which necessarily arise from this foreordained connection of the races, the management and treatment which shall best subserve the welfare and interest of both,

becomes one of the most important practical inquiries that can possibly engage our attention.

In attempting an essay upon this subject, we can gather but little aid from the long historical record which we have of the institution, for although we learn that slaves were nearly always employed in labor, yet we see no account of how they were clothed or fed, or find any data of comparative results of different modes of treatment, or labor, whereby we can be guided in our search after a system comprising the greatest benefits. We must therefore rely upon the observation, experience, and practice of the present time, as the only source of useful and correct information upon the subject.

The writer has been accustomed to slavery from his earliest days, and for thirty years has been much interested in their management, both on plantations and public works, and has therefore been prompted by his own interests, as well as inclination, to try every reasonable mode of management, treatment, living and labor; and the result of a long experience has fully satisfied him, and proved beyond doubt, that the best interests of all parties are most promoted by a kind and liberal treatment on the part of the owner, and the requirement of proper discipline and strict obedience on the part of the slave. Indeed, the Creator seems to have planted in the negro an innate principle of protection against the abuse of arbitrary power; and it is the law of nature which imperatively associates the true interest of the owner with the good treatment and comfort of the slave. Hence abuses and harsh treatment carry their own antidote, as all such cases recoil upon the head of the owner. Every attempt to force the slave beyond the limits of reasonable service, by cruelty or hard treatment, so far from exacting more work, only tends to make him unprofitable, unmanageable; a vexation and a curse.

It being, therefore, so manifestly against the interest of all parties, as well as opposed to the natural feelings of humanity, and refinement, and civilization of the age, a case of cruelty or abuse of a slave by his owner is seldom known, and universally condemned.

Negro Houses.—Among the first objects that occupy the attention of the planter, in the settlement of a new place, is the selection of a proper location for his buildings. This should always be done with great care, and with an especial view to health. Good water is indispensable, and should be obtained at almost any cost, as without it there can be no permanent health. It should be obtained from wells or springs, if possible; but if that cannot be done, then proper cisterns should be constructed, and placed to receive the rain water from the buildings, by which means a constant supply of healthy water may be kept on hand.

The houses should be placed, if possible, under the shades of

the native forests; but where that cannot be done, the china, or mulberry, or some quick growth, should be immediately transplanted, so as to cover the buildings, in some degree, from the rays of the sun. The buildings should be placed about two feet above the ground, so that the air can pass freely under them, and also be well ventilated with doors and windows. They should be sufficiently large, say about sixteen by twenty feet, and but one family should be put in a house; there is nothing more injurious to health or demoralizing in feeling, than crowding them together. They had much better sleep in the open air than in crowded tight houses. Each house or family should be furnished with suitable bedding and blankets, for while a proper outfit costs a few dollars in the beginning, they save twice as much in the end—they add greatly to the comfort and health of the slave, and enable him much better to perform the labor required.

Feeding of Slaves.—In former years the writer tried many ways and expedients to economize in the provision of slaves by using more of the vegetable and cheap articles of diet, and less of the more costly and substantial. But time and experience have fully proved the error of a stinted policy; for many years the following uniform mode has been adopted, with much success and satisfaction, both to the owner and to the slaves.

The allowance now given per week to each hand—men, women, boys, and girls that are old enough to go into the field to work—is five pounds of good clean bacon, and one quart of molasses, with as much good bread as they require; and in the fall or sickly season of the year, or on sickly places, the addition of one pint of strong coffee, sweetened with sugar, every morning before going to work. These provisions are given out on some designated night of each week; and for families it is put together; but to single hands it is given to each separately, and they then unite in squads or messes, and have their meat cooked for them by a woman who is detailed for that purpose, or keep it themselves, as they please. Their bread is baked daily in loaves, by a woman who is kept for that duty. Each house or family should have a garden attached for raising their own vegetables.

This mode of allowancing relieves the owner from much trouble in daily supervising their provisions, and is much more satisfactory to the slave. Under this system of treatment, a word of complaint in relation to their living is seldom heard. Some planters, however, differ on this subject, and prefer the plan of cooking and eating at one common table; and it is possible, with a small number of hands, and where the owner is willing to devote a good deal of attention to that matter, that he may save a small amount. But it will not be so satisfactory, and he will probably not gain enough to pay for the trouble. Children, of course,

must be fed and attended to as their wants require : they are not likely to be neglected, as they pay a good interest upon the amount of care and expense bestowed upon them.

Negro Clothing.—The proper and usual quantity of clothes for plantation hands, is two suits of cotton for spring and summer, and two suits of woollen for winter ; four pair of shoes and three hats, which, with such articles of dress as the negro merits, and the owner chooses to give, make up the year's allowance. Neatness in dress is important to the health, comfort, and pride of a negro, which should be encouraged by the owner. They should be induced to think well of themselves ; and the more pride and self-respect you can instil into them the better they will behave, and the more serviceable they will be ; so they should always be aided and encouraged in dressing, and their own peculiar fancies indulged to a reasonable extent.

Hours of Work.—In the winter time, and in the sickly season of the year, all hands should have breakfast before leaving their houses. This they can do and get to work by sunrise, and stop no more until twelve o'clock ; then rest one hour for dinner, then work until night. In the spring and summer they should go at light, and stop at 8 o'clock for breakfast, then work until 12 o'clock, and two hours for dinner, and work from 2 o'clock till night. All hands stop on Saturday at 12 o'clock, and take the afternoon for cleaning up their houses and clothes, so as to make a neat appearance on Sunday morning.

Task Work.—The usual custom of planters is to work without tasks during the cultivation of their crop ; but in gathering cotton, tasks are common, and experience has proven that whenever work is of that kind or character that it is much better to do so. If the overseer has judgment, he will get more work, and the negro will be better satisfied ; he will generally make an effort to gain time to devote to his own jobs and pleasures.

Negro Crops.—It was, at one period, much the custom of planters to give to each hand a small piece of land, to cultivate on their own account, if they chose to do so ; but this system has not been found to result well. It gives an excuse for trading, and encourages a traffic on their own account, and presents a temptation and opportunity, during the process of gathering, for an unscrupulous fellow to mix a little of his master's produce with his own. It is much better to give each hand, whose conduct has been such as to merit it, an equivalent in money at the end of the year ; it is much less trouble, and more advantage to both parties.

Discipline.—In regard to the general management or discipline on plantations or public works, it is of great consequence to have perfect system and regularity, and a strict adherence to the rules that may be adopted for the government of the place. Each

hand should know his duty, and be required to perform it ; but as before intimated, the owner has nothing to gain by oppression or over-driving, but something to lose ; for he cannot, by such means, extort more work. But still, if it become necessary to punish the negro for not doing his duty, or the violation of rules, it does not make him revengeful, as it would an Indian or white man, but it rather tends to win his attachment, and promote his happiness and well-being. Slaves have no respect or affection for a master who indulges them over much, or who, from fear, or false humanity, fails to assume that degree of authority necessary to promote industry and enforce good order. At the same time, proper and suitable indulgences and privileges should be granted, for the gratification and amusement of the negro ; but they should always be exercised by special permission, for they are a people ever ready to practise upon the old maxim of "give an inch and take an ell."

Negroes are by nature tyrannical in their dispositions ; and, if allowed, the stronger will abuse the weaker ; husbands will often abuse their wives, and mothers their children, so that it becomes a prominent duty of owners and overseers to keep peace, and prevent quarrelling and disputes among them ; and summary punishment should follow any violation of this rule.

Slaves are also a people that enjoy religious privileges. Many of them place much value upon it, and to every reasonable extent that advantage should be allowed them. They are never injured by preaching, but thousands become wiser and better people, and more trustworthy servants, by their attendance at church. Religious services should be provided and encouraged on every plantation. A zealous and vehement style, both in doctrine and manner, is best adapted to their temperament ; they are good believers in mysteries and miracles ; ready converts, and adhere with much pertinacity to their opinions when formed.

No card playing, or gambling of any description, should be allowed, under severe penalties. And the Maine Liquor Law should be rigidly enforced on every estate.

Marrying among Slaves.—Taking wives and husbands among their fellow-servants at home, should be as much encouraged as possible ; and although intermarrying with those belonging to other estates should not be prohibited, yet it is always likely to lead to difficulties and troubles, and should be avoided as much as possible. They cannot live together as they ought, and are constantly liable to separation in the changing of property. It is true they usually have but little ceremony in forming these connections ; and many of them look upon their obligation to each other very slightly ; but in others, again, is found a degree of faithfulness, fidelity and affection, which owners admire ; and

hence, they always dislike to separate those manifesting such traits of character.

Sickness.—Proper and prompt attention, in cases of sickness, is a vastly important matter among slaves. Many plantations are inconvenient to medical aid, therefore owners and overseers should always understand the treatment of such common cases as usually occur on places under their charge. This is easily done, and many times a single dose of some mild and well-understood medicine, given at the beginning of a complaint, removes the cause and effects a cure at once, when delay or neglect might render it a serious case.

A bountiful supply of red pepper should be cultivated, and kept on hand and used freely, in damp sections, where sore throats are apt to prevail, and also in fall complaints. It acts by creating a glow over the whole body, without any narcotic effect; it produces general arterial excitement, and prevents, in a considerable degree, that languor and apathy of the system, which render it so susceptible to chills and fevers; it may be given in any way or form which their taste or fancy may dictate.

Art. XI.—ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE CULTURE OF COTTON IN AMERICA.

THOUGH the cotton manufacture of England was, at its origin, supplied with the raw material from the Levant, and subsequently from the West Indies and South America, the United States soon became the principal exporters of what appeared to have been an exotic to their soil, though an ordinary short staple is stated by Mr. Seabrook to have been grown in Virginia, in a limited way, at least 130 years before the Revolution. In Wilson's account of the Province of Carolina, in America, published in 1682, it is stated that "cotton of the Cyprus and Malta sort grows well, and a good plenty of the seed is sent thither." Mr. Spalding, of Sapelo Island, near Darien, in Georgia, has stated that his father was one of the first to cultivate the long staple or Sea Island cotton, in 1787, from seed received from the Bahamas. The seeds of probably the same cotton, carried into the interior and upland parts of Georgia, from the poor soil and dryer climate, and the necessary modifications of culture, produced what is known as upland cotton. The culture spread thence into the States which abut upon the Gulf of Mexico. There the rich soil and moist climate required the cultivation to be suited to it; but everything being congenial, and fresh seed introduced from Mexico, the largest known returns have been obtained.

In England, the invention of machinery, by Wyatt, Har-

greaves, and Arkwright, from 1739 to 1769, and the consequent establishment of the factory system about 1785, greatly increased the demand for cotton wool. This demand could hardly have been supplied if the culture had not been so vigorously taken up by the Americans; but even they, with their deficiency of labor, would never have been able to free from its seed the quantities of cotton which they grew, if it had not been for the invention of Whitney's saw-gin, in 1793. This is justly stated to have done as much for the cultivators of America as the above inventions did for the cotton manufacturers of England; but he was not better treated in the New than his brother inventors usually are in the Old World.

But this fortunate conjunction of an extensive demand with the means of supplying it, the latter occurring among a people ready and able to take advantage of the opportunity, soon established the cotton trade of the United States on an extensive and also secure basis, because it was founded on the excellent quality of the raw material.

Mr. Macgregor, in his valuable *Commercial Statistics*, vol. iii., p. 452, mentions, that "among the provincial trade returns we find that among the exports of 'Charles Town,' from November, 1747, to November, 1748, were 7 bags of cotton wool, valued at £3 11s. 5d. per bag. In 1754, some cotton was exported from South Carolina. In 1770, there were shipped for Liverpool 3 bales from New-York, 4 bales from Virginia and Maryland, and 3 barrels full of cotton from North Carolina. From the official returns it appears that the first arrival of cotton wool in Liverpool, the produce of the United States, took place in 1770, and consisted of 2,000 lbs. Fourteen bags arrived during the year 1785. And the total import during the six years from 1785 to 1790 inclusive, was 1,441 bags, weighing about 150 lbs. each; but the supply was neither uniform nor extensive, the import in 1789 having exceeded that of the following year 731 bags."—(*Macgregor*, 1 c., p. 465.)

In the year 1791, 189,316 lbs. of cotton were exported from the United States; but in 1794 the quantity had increased to 1,601,700 lbs.; and by the end of the century to nearly 18,000,000 lbs. The production of cotton has continued annually to increase, and probably now amounts to about a thousand millions of pounds, or to about 2,500,000 bales; of this a quantity, which has been steadily increasing from year to year, and now amounts to about 500,000 bales, is retained for home consumption. The remainder is exported chiefly to Europe, but by far the largest proportion to this country.

As it is desirable to have the means of comparing the progress of the different cotton-growing States one with another, as well as of observing the general increase, and how the crops of

particular seasons affect the commerce and manufactures of other countries, we insert the following tables. In these, the States are arranged geographically, in order afterwards to weigh the influence of physical causes in limiting or extending the powers of production. In the first table we may see that the Southern Atlantic States, though they increased their culture very rapidly, yet were very soon equalled by the Gulf States, though these began the culture at so much a later period. The author has compiled this table from *Commercial Statistics*, iii., p. 462 :

I. *Estimated Crops of Cotton in America, in lbs., from 1790 to 1834, given in Millions and Tenths.*

Years.	Virginia.	N. Carolina.	S. Carolina.	Georgia.	Florida.	Alabama.	Mississippi.	Louisiana.	Tennessee.	Arkansas.	Total estimated American Crop.
1791..	—	—	1.5	.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	2 lbs.
1801..	5	4	.20	.10	—	—	—	—	1	—	40 "
1811..	8	7	.40	.20	—	—	—	2	3	—	80 "
1821..	12	10	.60	.50	—	.20	.10	.10	.20	—	170 "
1826..	25	10	.70	.75	.2	.45	.70	.55	.45	.5	348.5 "
1834..	10	9.5	.65	.75	.20	.85	.85	.62	.45	.5	467.5 "

In the following table, the imports of American cotton into Great Britain, from 1834 to the present time, are given in bales. These are estimated to have weighed, on an average, 330 lbs. from 1833 to 1842 inclusive ; but the average weight, at present, is 385 lbs.* Here we see that the Atlantic States have either diminished their exports of late years, or have remained stationary ; while the Gulf States have increased theirs to an enormous extent. The same fact is thus exhibited :

Actual Average of the Eighteen Crops, from 1824 to 1841.

	First 6 years.	Second 6 years.	Third 6 years.
South Atlantic States..	423,000 bales.	522,000 bales..	529,000 bales.
Gulf States	253,000 "	504,000 "	1,030,000 "

Under the head of New-Orleans, the produce of Louisiana and of Mississippi are included, as well as of some of the interior States, as of Tennessee, which is brought down the River Mississippi.

II. *Growth of Cotton in the different States of America, from 1834 to 1849, in Bales.*

Years.	Virginia.	N. Carolina.	S. Carolina.	Georgia.	Florida.	Alabama.	Mississippi.	N. Orleans.	Texas.
1834-35....	33,170.	34,399.	203,166.	222,670.	52,085.	107,692.	—	511,146.	—
1835-36....	29,197.	32,557.	231,237.	270,121.	79,762.	236,715.	6,889.	474,747.	—
1836-37....	28,618.	18,004.	196,377.	269,971.	83,703.	232,243.	7,755.	503,250.	—
1837-38....	32,000.	23,719.	294,334.	304,210.	106,171.	309,807.	10,875.	711,681.	—

* Thus, 358 lbs. per bale for Uplands or Georgia, &c. ; 437 lbs. for New-Orleans and Alabama ; 360 lbs. for Sea Island. (*Messrs. Holt's Circular.*) The planters commonly calculate 400 lbs. to a bale.

Years.	Virginia.	N. Carolina.	S. Carolina.	Georgia.	Florida.	Alabama.	Mississippi.	N. Orleans.	Texas.
1838-39....	22,200..	11,136..	210,171..	205,112..	75,177..	251,742..	16,432..	568,563..	—
1839-40....	26,900..	9,394..	313,194..	292,693..	136,257..	445,725..	6,767..	946,905..	—
1840-41....	31,800..	7,865..	227,400..	148,947..	93,532..	320,701..	1,065..	613,505..	—
1841-42....	31,012..	9,737..	260,164..	232,271..	114,416..	318,315..	—	727,658..	—
1842-43....	15,639..	9,039..	351,658..	299,491..	161,088..	481,714..	—	1,060,246..	—
1843-44....	15,600..	8,618..	304,870..	255,597..	145,562..	467,990..	—	832,172..	—
1844-45....	25,300..	12,487..	426,361..	295,540..	188,093..	517,196..	—	929,126..	—
1845-46....	16,282..	10,637..	251,405..	191,911..	141,184..	421,966..	—	1,037,144..	27,008
1846-47....	15,819..	6,061..	350,200..	242,789..	127,832..	323,462..	—	705,979..	8,317
1847-48....	8,952..	1,518..	261,752..	254,825..	153,776..	436,830..	—	1,190,733..	39,742
1848-49....	17,550..	10,041..	458,117..	391,372..	200,186..	518,706..	—	1,093,797..	38,827

In the third table, the aggregate crop and exports for the last twelve years are given, in order that we may afterwards see how these affect the exports from India in the same or following years. These are taken from the Circular, for the year 1849, of Messrs. Tetley, the eminent brokers of Mincing Lane :

III. *The Crop of Cotton Wool in the United States of America, with the Export for the last Twelve Years.*

Years.	Crop.	Export.		
		Great Britain.	France.	Continent.
1837-38.....	1,801,497.....	1,165,155.....	321,480.....	88,994
1838-39.....	1,360,532.....	798,418.....	242,243.....	34,028
1839-40.....	2,177,835.....	1,246,791.....	447,465.....	181,747
1840-41.....	1,634,945.....	858,742.....	348,776.....	105,759
1841-42.....	1,684,211.....	935,631.....	398,129.....	131,489
1842-43.....	2,378,875.....	1,469,711.....	346,139.....	194,287
1843-44.....	2,030,409.....	1,202,498.....	282,685.....	144,307
1844-45.....	2,394,503.....	1,439,306.....	359,357.....	285,093
1845-46.....	2,100,537.....	1,102,369.....	359,703.....	204,720
1846-47.....	1,778,651.....	830,909.....	241,486.....	168,827
1847-48.....	2,347,634.....	1,324,265.....	279,172.....	254,824
1848-49.....	2,728,596.....	1,637,901.....	368,259.....	321,684

The energetic planters of the Southern States of the American Union cannot but be deeply interested in a culture which gives such extensive occupation to their slave population, the more especially as it is subject to a multitude of accidents from the vicissitudes of seasons and the depredations of insects. Thus, though the crop has so greatly increased when viewed in a series of years, yet considerable fluctuations occasionally take place in the quantity produced. It has been said that a good crop, with the advantage of a mild winter, as compared with a bad season and early frosts, make a difference of from 6 to 700,000 bales. In 1838 a severe frost, occurring on the 7th of October, severely injured the crop. In 1845 the crop was nearly 2,400,000 bales, but in 1846 only about 1,800,000 bales; making a difference of 600,000 bales, all destroyed, it is said, by caterpillars. The present crop is expected to be not above 2,100,000 bales, against 2,700,000 of the previous year. These fluctuations in quantity necessarily produce great variations in price. Thus, the lowest price at Liverpool of New-Orleans cotton was—

In June, 1845.....	3½d. per lb.	In June, 1848.....	3½d. per lb.
" 1846.....	4½ "	" 1849.....	3½ "
" 1847.....	5½ "	In Dec., 1849.....	5 "

The American planter necessarily suffers from any depreciation in the value of his produce, though he is in some measure remunerated for the smallness of a crop by the increase in price which almost necessarily ensues, when any deficiency in quantity is experienced. But still he complains, and apparently with justice, of the continued decline which has taken place in prices. Mr. Woodbury, Secretary of the United States Treasury, has shown that the average prices at the places of exportation for each period of five years has been—

1791-1795.....	15½d. per lb.	1816-1820.....	13d. per lb.
1796-1800.....	18½ "	1821-1825.....	8 "
1801-1805.....	12½ "	1826-1830.....	5 "
1806-1810.....	9½ "	1831-1835.....	6 "
1811-1815.....	7½ "		

Since then, still lower prices have been obtained. Mr. Turner stated to the Committee of the House of Commons that he had bought ordinary Orleans cotton on one occasion as low as 3½d., and that its average price for the years from 1843 to 1846 might be considered to have been about 4d. The planter anxiously inquires whether such depression is likely to be permanent, and also whether other cultures, such as that of the sugar-cane, are not more profitable. [The reverse has been the case.—EDITOR.]

Art. XII.—SOME CENSUS STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Ascertained and Estimated Population of the United States for each year from 1790 to 1860.

Years.	Aggregate.	Years.	Aggregate.	Years.	Aggregate.
1790.....	3,929,827	1814.....	8,117,710	1838.....	16,131,067
1791.....	4,049,600	1815.....	8,353,338	1839.....	16,593,630
1792.....	4,173,024	1816.....	8,595,806	1840.....	17,069,453
1793.....	4,300,210	1817.....	8,845,312	1841.....	17,600,732
1794.....	4,431,272	1818.....	9,102,060	1842.....	18,148,580
1795.....	4,566,329	1819.....	9,366,261	1843.....	18,713,479
1796.....	4,705,504	1820.....	9,638,131	1844.....	19,293,971
1797.....	4,848,919	1821.....	9,920,600	1845.....	19,896,574
1798.....	4,996,705	1822.....	10,211,348	1846.....	20,513,871
1799.....	5,148,904	1823.....	10,510,618	1847.....	21,154,444
1800.....	5,305,925	1824.....	10,818,659	1848.....	21,812,893
1801.....	5,473,507	1825.....	11,135,787	1849.....	22,491,305
1802.....	5,646,176	1826.....	11,462,088	1850.....	23,191,876
1803.....	5,824,398	1827.....	11,798,013	1851.....	23,873,717
1804.....	6,008,246	1828.....	12,143,783	1852.....	24,575,604
1805.....	6,197,897	1829.....	12,499,687	1853.....	25,298,126
1806.....	6,393,534	1830.....	12,866,030	1854.....	26,041,800
1807.....	6,595,346	1831.....	13,234,931	1855.....	26,807,521
1808.....	6,803,528	1832.....	13,614,420	1856.....	27,595,622
1809.....	7,018,282	1833.....	14,004,780	1857.....	28,406,974
1810.....	7,239,814	1834.....	14,406,300	1858.....	29,242,139
1811.....	7,449,960	1835.....	14,819,425	1859.....	30,101,837
1812.....	7,666,206	1836.....	15,244,344	1860.....	30,986,851
1813.....	7,888,729	1837.....	15,681,447		

Nativities of White Population of the United States.

States, Districts and Territories.	Born in the State.		Born out of the State, and in the United States.		Born in Foreign Countries.		Unknown.		Aggregate.
	Number.	Ratio.	Number.	Ratio.	Number.	Ratio.	Number.	Ratio.	
Alabama.....	231,691	55.03	183,324	42.98	7,498	1.76	1,001	0.23	426,514
Arkansas.....	60,996	37.61	98,950	61.01	1,468	0.90	775	0.48	162,189
California.....	7,696	8.40	61,866	67.51	21,639	23.60	444	0.49	91,635
Columbia, Dist. of.....	18,375	48.43	14,620	38.54	4,913	12.95	33	0.08	37,941
Connecticut.....	284,978	78.49	39,117	10.77	38,374	10.57	630	0.17	363,099
Delaware.....	55,501	78.11	10,326	14.51	5,243	7.37	9	0.01	71,169
Florida.....	19,120	40.51	25,332	53.67	2,740	5.80	11	0.02	47,203
Georgia.....	396,298	75.98	118,268	22.68	6,452	1.24	554	0.11	521,572
Illinois.....	331,089	39.13	399,733	47.25	111,860	13.22	3,352	0.40	846,034
Indiana.....	520,583	53.28	308,695	40.80	55,537	5.66	2,339	0.24	977,154
Iowa.....	41,305	21.53	129,248	67.36	21,014	10.96	314	0.16	191,891
Kentucky.....	680,129	76.19	148,592	19.51	31,401	4.13	1,301	0.17	761,413
Louisiana.....	126,917	49.67	60,641	23.74	67,308	26.34	625	0.25	255,491
Maine.....	514,635	88.46	35,019	6.02	31,695	5.45	444	0.07	561,813
Maryland.....	326,040	78.01	40,610	9.72	51,011	12.20	282	0.07	417,943
Massachusetts.....	679,625	68.97	139,419	14.15	163,598	16.60	2,808	0.28	985,450
Michigan.....	137,637	34.84	201,586	51.02	54,593	13.82	1,255	0.32	395,071
Mississippi.....	135,501	45.82	154,946	52.40	4,789	1.61	489	0.17	295,718
Missouri.....	265,304	44.81	249,223	2.11	76,570	12.93	907	0.15	592,004
New-Hampshire.....	258,132	81.31	44,925	14.15	14,257	4.49	142	0.03	317,456
New-Jersey.....	361,691	77.70	43,711	9.39	59,804	12.85	303	0.06	465,509
New-York.....	2,092,076	68.63	296,754	9.74	653,224	21.49	4,371	0.14	3,048,325
North Carolina.....	529,483	95.74	20,784	3.76	2,565	0.46	196	0.04	553,028
Ohio.....	1,203,490	61.56	529,298	27.07	218,099	11.15	4,253	0.22	1,955,050
Pennsylvania.....	1,787,310	79.15	165,966	7.35	303,195	13.42	1,779	0.08	2,258,160
Rhode Island.....	98,754	68.64	21,221	14.75	23,832	16.56	68	0.05	143,875
South Carolina.....	253,399	92.29	12,401	4.59	8,508	3.10	55	0.02	274,563
Tennessee.....	580,695	76.72	168,966	22.33	5,638	0.74	1,537	0.20	756,836
Texas.....	43,281	28.10	92,657	60.15	17,620	11.44	476	0.31	154,034
Vermont.....	228,489	72.91	50,894	16.24	33,688	10.75	331	0.10	313,402
Virginia.....	813,811	90.95	57,588	6.44	22,953	2.57	454	0.05	894,860
Wisconsin.....	54,312	17.82	139,166	45.66	110,471	36.25	807	0.27	304,756
Territory { Minnesota.....	1,572	26.04	2,486	41.17	1,977	32.74	3	0.05	6,058
{ New-Mexico.....	58,404	94.93	761	1.24	2,151	3.49	209	0.34	61,525
{ Oregon.....	2,501	17.56	9,636	73.63	950	7.33	191	1.46	13,067
{ Utah.....	1,150	10.23	8,117	71.64	2,044	18.04	10	0.09	11,330
Total.....	13,104,889	67.06	4,174,940	21.35	2,240,581	11.46	32,658	0.17	19,553,086

By comparing the above table with one made up from the British Census of 1841, (the returns for 1851 embracing these particulars not having been yet received,) it will be seen that whilst for our oldest States, such as North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, only 95, 92, 90, 78 and 79 per. cent. respectively of the free population (the proportion will not be affected for the slave) were born in the States of their residence, in England there were 96 per. cent.; in Ireland, 99.58; in Scotland, 93 per. cent. In some of our States, such as Wisconsin, Iowa and California, the proportion runs down as low as seventeen, twenty-one, and eight per. cent. Only 16 per. cent. in England and 5 per. cent. in Ireland resided out of their native countries! The proportion of foreign born was not more than one-tenth of one per. cent. in Scotland, one-twentieth of one per. cent. in Ireland, and one-fiftieth of one per. cent. in England, against over eleven per. cent. in the United States, thirty-six per. cent. in Wisconsin, and twenty-six per. cent. in Louisiana, and one-half of one per. cent. in North Carolina, and three-quarters of one per. cent. in Tennessee.

Nativities of Slaves.—It is almost impossible to distinguish between the native born and foreign born slaves, and no facts were collected upon this subject, except under the census schedules of mortality. From these it appears that slaves, except to some extent, Africans were generally considered of the nativity of the place of decease. As few slaves have been introduced into the country since 1808, and these chiefly into Florida, previously to 1819, under the Spanish rule, and into Louisiana, it will be necessary to look into the class over 60 years of age for the survivors of the original Africans. The whole number of slaves in 1850 over 60

years of age was 114,752. Of these, no one familiar with the South would admit that more than 8,000 or 10,000 were Africans. In Louisiana, in 1849-1850, 110 African slaves are reported to have died, out of a total of 6,083 deaths of slaves of all ages. In Virginia few or no African deaths are mentioned. The ages of deceased Africans on the schedules generally range higher than 60, often more than 70, and in South Carolina as high as 80, 90, 100 and 110.

Black and Mulatto Population of the United States.

States and Territories.	Free.		Slaves.		Slave and Free.		Rates of Mulattoes to 100 Blacks.		
	Blacks.	Mulattoes.	Blacks.	Mulattoes.	Blacks.	Mulattoes.	Total.	Free.	Slave.
Alabama.....	567	1,698	321,239	21,605	321,806	23,303	7.24	299.47	6.72
Arkansas.....	201	407	40,739	0,361	40,940	6,708	16.53	202.47	15.61
California.....	870	87	—	—	875	87	9.94	0.94	—
Columbia, Dist. of.....	6,783	2,276	2,885	809	9,668	4,078	49.18	48.29	97.80
Connecticut.....	5,895	1,798	—	—	5,895	1,798	30.50	30.50	—
Delaware.....	16,425	1,648	2,307	83	18,632	1,731	9.29	10.03	3.76
Florida.....	229	703	26,288	3,022	36,517	3,725	10.20	306.99	8.33
Georgia.....	1,403	1,528	359,013	22,669	380,410	24,197	6.71	108.91	6.31
Illinois.....	2,930	2,506	—	—	2,930	2,506	85.53	85.53	—
Indiana.....	5,941	5,391	—	—	5,941	5,391	89.56	89.56	—
Iowa.....	178	155	—	—	178	155	87.08	87.08	—
Kentucky.....	7,381	2,630	181,222	29,729	188,633	32,359	19.30	35.63	16.40
Louisiana.....	3,379	14,083	224,974	19,835	228,353	33,918	14.85	416.78	8.82
Maine.....	895	461	—	—	895	461	51.51	51.51	—
Maryland.....	61,109	13,614	82,479	7,889	143,588	21,503	14.07	22.28	9.56
Massachusetts.....	6,724	2,340	—	—	6,724	2,340	34.80	34.80	—
Michigan.....	1,465	1,118	—	—	1,465	1,118	76.31	76.31	—
Mississippi.....	295	635	290,148	19,730	290,443	20,365	7.01	215.25	6.80
Missouri.....	1,687	931	74,187	12,235	75,875	14,166	18.67	55.19	17.84
New-Hampshire.....	340	184	—	—	330	184	54.76	54.76	—
New-Jersey.....	20,113	2,697	222	4	20,345	3,701	18.19	18.28	1.72
New-York.....	40,930	8,139	—	—	40,930	8,139	19.88	19.88	—
North Carolina.....	10,258	17,205	271,733	16,815	281,991	34,020	12.06	167.72	6.19
Ohio.....	11,014	14,265	—	—	11,014	14,265	129.52	129.52	—
Pennsylvania.....	38,285	15,341	—	—	38,285	15,341	40.07	40.07	—
Rhode Island.....	2,939	731	—	—	2,939	731	24.87	24.87	—
South Carolina.....	4,588	4,372	372,482	12,502	377,070	16,874	4.47	95.29	3.35
Tennessee.....	2,646	3,776	219,163	20,356	221,749	24,132	10.88	142.71	9.29
Texas.....	140	257	50,458	7,703	50,598	7,960	15.73	183.15	15.26
Vermont.....	512	206	—	—	512	206	40.93	40.23	—
Virginia.....	18,857	35,476	428,229	44,299	447,066	79,775	17.84	188.13	10.34
Wisconsin.....	338	297	—	—	338	297	87.85	87.85	—
Terr's. Minnesota.....	16	23	—	—	16	23	143.75	143.75	—
New-Mexico.....	6	16	—	—	6	16	266.66	266.66	—
Oregon.....	45	162	—	—	45	162	360.00	360.00	—
Utah.....	15	9	9	17	24	26	108.33	60.00	188.80
Total.....	275,400	159,095	2,957,637	246,656	3,233,057	405,751	12.54	57.56	8.34

Occupations.—In no census have the occupations of slaves been recorded. How many are employed as mechanics, how many as laborers, how many as house-servants, cannot be known; nor, more than approximately, how many on the different agricultural crops of the South. Deducting the slaves who are known to be residents of towns, and approximating for those towns that are unknown, it might be safe to say that 400,000 slaves are urban, and 2,804,313 rural, and that of the latter class at least as many slaves will be employed as domestics as there are slave properties, which would leave about 2,500,000 slaves* to be directly em-

* These are distributed between the several great staples of the South in something like the following proportions, as near as can be judged after a careful consideration of the subject, bearing in mind that large quantities of breadstuffs are produced in addition:

Hemp.....	60,000	3.4 per cent.
Rice.....	124,000	5.0 " "
Sugar.....	150,000	6.0 " "
Tobacco.....	350,000	14.0 " "
Cotton, etc.....	1,815,000	72.6 " "
	2,500,000	100

ployed in agriculture, including males and females, and persons of all ages. Slaves under 10 and over 60 are seldom employed industrially.

The total number of families holding slaves by the census of 1850 was 347,625. On the average of 5.7 to a family, there are about 2,000,000 persons in the relation of slave-owners, or about one-third of the whole white population of the slave States;* in South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, excluding the largest cities, one half of the whole population.

Classification of Slaveholding Families in the United States.

States.	Holders of 1 slave.	1 and under 5.	5 and under 10.	10 and under 20.	20 and under 50.	50 and under 100.	100 and under 200.	200 and under 300.	300 and under 500.	500 and under 1000.	1000 and over.	Aggregate Families holding Slaves.
Alabama.....	5,204	7,737	6,572	5,067	3,524	957	216	16	2	—	—	20,295
Arkansas.....	1,393	1,951	1,365	788	382	100	19	2	—	—	—	5,990
Colum., Dist. of.....	760	539	136	39	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	1,477
Delaware.....	329	352	117	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	800
Florida.....	699	991	759	588	349	104	29	—	1	—	—	3,520
Georgia.....	6,554	11,716	7,701	6,490	5,056	764	147	22	4	2	—	38,456
Kentucky.....	9,244	13,384	9,570	5,022	1,198	53	5	—	—	—	—	38,385
Louisiana.....	4,797	6,072	4,327	2,652	1,774	728	274	36	6	4	—	20,670
Maryland.....	4,825	5,331	3,327	1,822	655	72	7	—	1	—	—	16,040
Mississippi.....	3,640	6,228	5,143	4,015	2,904	910	189	18	6	1	—	23,116
Missouri.....	5,762	6,878	4,370	1,810	345	19	—	1	—	—	—	19,185
N. Carolina.....	1,204	9,668	8,129	5,898	2,825	485	76	12	3	—	—	28,303
S. Carolina.....	3,492	6,164	6,311	4,955	3,200	990	382	69	29	2	2	25,596
Tennessee.....	7,616	10,582	8,314	4,852	2,302	276	19	2	1	—	—	33,864
Texas.....	1,935	2,640	1,585	1,121	374	62	9	1	—	—	—	7,747
Virginia.....	11,385	15,530	13,030	9,456	4,880	646	107	8	1	0	—	55,063
Total.....	66,820	105,683	80,765	54,595	29,733	6,196	1,479	187	56	18	2	347,525

When the party owns slaves in different counties or in different States, he will be entered more than once. This will disturb the calculation very little, being only the case among the larger properties, and it will account for the fact that a smaller number of such properties are reported in some of the States than are known to exist, particularly in South Carolina, Virginia and Louisiana. By the table it would seem that one-fifth of the properties are in a single slave, and nearly one-half in less than five slaves.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Gayarre's History of Louisiana. Vol. III. 1854.

The School for Politics, by Charles Gayarre. 1854.—We are indebted to the author, who is one of the most distinguished citizens of the South, and natives of Louisiana, for a copy of these interesting works. Mr. Gayarre has been always distinguished as a chaste and elegant writer, an accomplished scholar, and high-minded gentleman. He has been elevated by his native State to positions of high honor and dignity, and was at the age of thirty years elected to the Senate of the United States. Standing aloof from party intrigues, he is accustomed to act and think for himself, and dares to speak his sentiments, however they may run counter to those of the public, and, as it sometimes happens, those of his most intimate friends. His *History of Louisiana* is appreciated by scholars all over the Republic,

* The number includes slave-hirers, but is exclusive of those who are interested conjointly with others in slave property. The two will about balance each other, for the whole South, and leave the slave-owners as stated.

and has now reached its conclusion. The volume before us is the most valuable of the series, and discusses the important matters connected with the cession of the province, and the intrigues of the West, which immediately preceded and followed that act. The "School for Politics" is a neat little volume, which, without referring to individual characters, makes up a very pretty picture of what is known as political life, and one that is not likely to be very captivating. We shall refer to the History more at length in our next issue.

AN INTERESTING BOOK.

Na Motu; or, Reef-Rovings in the South Seas, is the title of a new work just issued from the press of PUDNEY & RUSSELL, John Street, New-York. There have been many works published recently, having for their locality the romantic regions of the South Sea. Herman Melville has gone over this fairy ground, and thrown around it a roving, dreamy interest, in his *Typee*, *Omoo*, and other works. This work, with an equal degree of romantic interest to delight the novel reader, has much to instruct the general reader of history. The author gives an accurate geographical sketch of these islands, and blends information with pleasure in imparting it. With these requisites of successful authorship, Mr. Perkins brings to his task a rich fund of humor. If the reader should anticipate us in getting the book before he sees this notice, we commend him to turn to page 27, and read the humorous sketch of "Training a Green Horn." Indeed, the whole Chapter II., "Having reference to Nautical Economy," is replete with this characteristic of the writer. Mr. Perkins' style in description is graphic and picturesque. The chapter descriptive of "The Green Hills of Hilo" is highly illustrative of this style of descriptive writing; and the plate accompanying the chapter imparts a vivid idea of the beauty of the scenery. The book is illustrated throughout with lithographic plates, from sketches taken on the spot by the author, and the typographical execution of the work is highly creditable to the skill and good taste of the publishers. Beautifully bound in gilt, at the low price of \$1.50.

The book is divided into "Parts," the IV. of which comprises a series of Appendices, which embrace a history of Polynesia, "The Island Kingdom of the North Pacific," "The French in the Pacific," and the "American Whaling Interests in the Pacific." All these topics are of the greatest interest to the American reader; and we are doing but an act of justice in recommending this work to the public.

SUBSCRIBERS to the REVIEW, whose year begins with July, will be kind enough to favor us with early remittances in cash, or orders upon merchants, payable on the sale of crops. This will save us Agents' commissions and their many annoyances. To those who will add \$5 to any remittance within two or three months, a copy of the INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES, in three handsome volumes, will be sent through the mail. This is half the subscription price. If persons will not purchase the work at its actual value, we must sell on any terms, to repay the enormous sum which was expended upon it. The *Industrial Resources* have been quoted and commended in every section of the Union in the most flattering terms, and yet the Editor is forced to the expedient of selling them at less than actual cost! This is the reward that the South accords to those who labor for her! The matter in the three volumes of the *Industrial Resources* would fill ten octavo volumes of the ordinary page and type. It cannot be sold by Agents at less than \$6.

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISIANA.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

The Annual Course of Lectures in this Department will commence on MONDAY, November 13, and will terminate in the ensuing March.

James Jones, M. D., Professor of Practice of Medicine.
J. L. Riddell, M. D., Professor of Chemistry
Warren Stone, M. D., Professor of Surgery.
A. H. Cenas, M. D., Professor of Obstetrics.
A. J. Wedderburn, M. D., Professor of Anatomy.
Gustavus A. Neit, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica.
Thomas Hunt, M. D., Professor of Physiology and Pathology.
Cornelius C. Baird, M. D., } Demonstrators of Anatomy.
Samuel P. Choppin, M. D., }

The rooms for Dissecting will be open on the Third Monday in October.

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In 1853, the number of patients was thirteen thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine.

Sep., 54, 1 yr.

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Space will not allow of the introduction of the numerous testimonials received by the proprietor. He therefore subjoins only two or three of them, the first of which was received from Vera Cruz, in 1849, while the Yellow Fever was quite prevalent, and is signed, as will be seen, by the HIGHEST MEDICAL AUTHORITIES of that city.

TRANSLATION.

We, the undersigned, licensed Physicians in and for the city of Vera Cruz, do hereby certify, that we have used **Dr. W. Wright's Indian Vegetable Pills**, bought of Mr. Felix Rovira, Agent in this city, and having applied said Pills to cure the different diseases for which they are recommended by Dr. Wright, we have found them in every respect anti-factory, and we therefore recommend their use to every person in the republic who may be suffering from any of the maladies for which they are recommended by their inventor.—And in order that the present certificate may be used as convenient to the parties, we have signed it in Vera Cruz, this 10th day of August, 1849.

(Signed,)

GEORGE GAIDAN.

MANUEL HOYAD.

FORBES' TOWN, Butte Co., California, March 26th, 1854.

Sir:—I take upon me to forward you a few lines, to let you know that I have been using your very effective medicine for over one year. What the name of my complaint is I cannot say, but your Pills have made a very great alteration in my outward appearance and my inward feeling is most pleasant to what it was. I had had health for a considerable time, and had tried a great many remedies, but all proved to have no effect; in fact, your Pills are the only medicine that I have ever found equal to recommendations. I can assure you that I value them more than the gold I am digging, and trust that I shall always have some of them beside me.

I remain, your well-wisher,

JAMES HALKET.

PITTSBURGH, Pa., April 29, 1854, 410 Liberty Street.

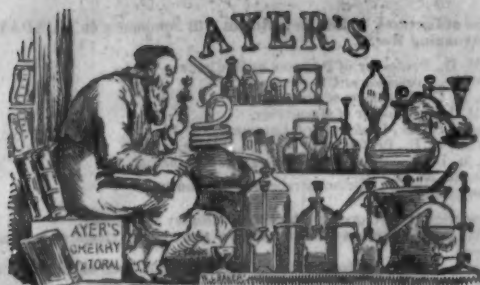
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Office of Transportation, Laurens R. R., S. C., Aug. 4, 1853.

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Its use in the above named disease will save many a child from a premature grave, and relieve the anxiety of many a fond parent. For all affections of the Throat and Lungs, I believe it the best medicine extant. A feeling of the deepest gratitude prompts me in addressing you these lines;—but for your important discovery, my little boy would now have been in another world.

I am yours, with great respect,

J. D. POWELL, Supt. Trans., L. R. R.

Wilkesbarre, Pa., September 28, 1850.

Dr. J. C. AYER. My dear Sir.—Your medicine is much approved of by those who have used it here, and its composition is such as to insure and maintain its reputation. I invariably recommend it for pulmonary affections, as do many of our principal physicians.

I am your friend,

CHAS. STREATER, M. D.

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